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H M THE KING OF ITALY.

Frontispiece.

· MODERN ITALY

1748—1922 ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

By

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Di
PASQUALE VILLARI

TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD

THE present edition of an English translation of Signor Pietro Orsi's *Modern Italy* has been brought up to date by the author, and his additions duly incorporated into the original volume, which first appeared in this country and America in 1899. The book which in its early form covered the period from 1748 to 1898, now synchronises with the present year, and many revisions and additions have rendered its scope and interest contemporary in the fullest sense.

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I

ITALY AFTER AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

THE traveller who enters Italy by the Mont Cenis tunnel is confronted by a race whose temperament is as hard as the alpine granite and cold as the long alpine winters—a race toughened, braced and disciplined to duty by the constant exercise of arms, whose integrity is preserved and whose interests are guarded by rulers of the honoured dynasty of Savoy.

From the eleventh century this princely house, originally from Maurienne, had begun to extend its dominion in Piedmont, and, by means of its ability and perseverance, had gradually succeeded in subjugating the whole of the province; in fact, by the first half of the eighteenth century, Charles Emmanuel III. had extended the frontier of his territory on the side of the Milanese from the Sesia to the Ticino. Besides Piedmont and Savoy—the cradle of the race—this family had held for centuries the city and province of Nice, and thus possessed a maritime port which assured a free access to the waters of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Here indeed they had obtained the sovereignty of an island

which brought to the House of Savoy that royal title coveted by so many generations of its princes.¹ It was war which had led to these results, and by war alone could they be heightened or modified. Thus, from the period extending from 1748 to 1792, during which Italy was at peace, no changes whatever affected the dominions of the House of Savoy.

The territories in question contained about three million two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom nearly two million eight hundred thousand belonged to the mainland and only four hundred and fifty thousand to Sardinia. This island had been reduced by four centuries of Spanish misrule to the most deplorable condition; uncultivated and destitute of roads, a great part of it was almost wholly owned by feudatories, mostly of Spanish origin. Some few of the great and radical reforms that it needed were indeed introduced, but with little effect.

Piedmont, on the contrary, had the appearance of a highly cultivated province, with its lowlands rich in mulberries and vines; moreover, the land was divided to such an extent that nearly all the agriculturists were landed proprietors as well. Industries were developing, it is true, but they were subject

¹ By the peace of Utrecht (1713) Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy had gained Sicily, but in consequence of the attempts of Cardinal Alberoni—the Spanish minister—to recover the lost Italian provinces, the Emperor had insisted on Victor Amadeus ceding Sicily to him and taking in exchange Sardinia: hence the title of the new kingdom—a title preserved by the House of Savoy up till 1861, when Victor Emmanuel II. assumed that of ‘King of Italy.’

to a whole code of minute regulations which, although meant to foster their increase, in reality only hindered it. The capital of the kingdom—Turin—only contained seventy-five thousand inhabitants, but its clean, level streets and its wide, regular squares, gave the city a very attractive aspect, so that Montesquieu, who visited it in 1728, pronounced it “*le plus beau village du monde.*”

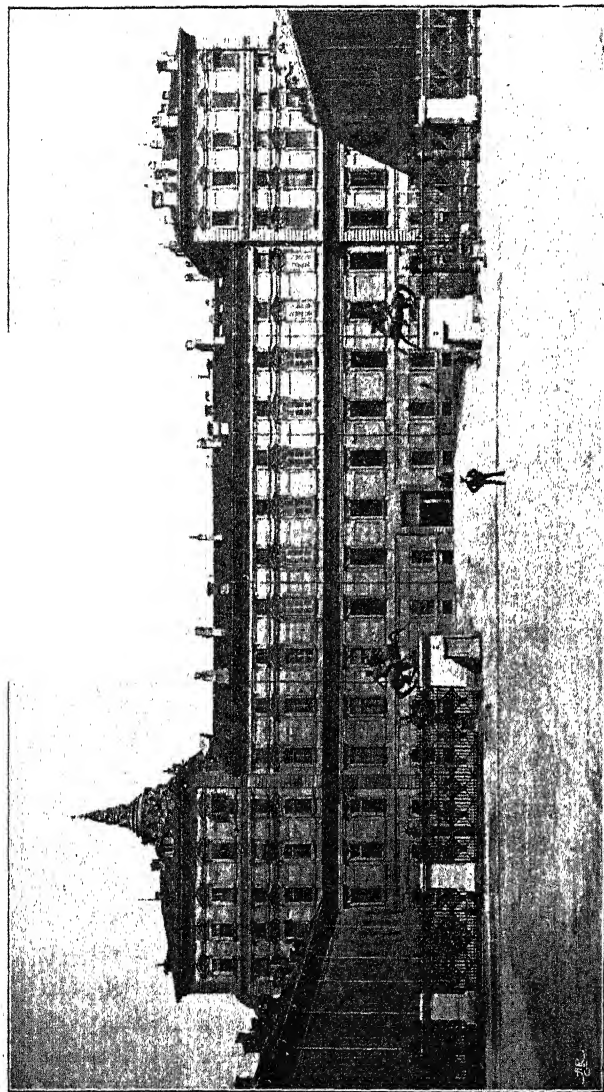
The court of Turin, although free from the vices of that of Versailles, was organised on much the same basis. A retinue of fully three hundred and thirty courtiers surrounded the monarch, and the annual expenditure amounted to more than two million francs—representing the tenth part of the national revenue. From these courtiers—all of whom were, naturally, nobles—were chosen the ministers and all other state functionaries. The aristocracy likewise monopolised the highest dignities in the Church, whilst no less than two thousand five hundred of its members served in the army, and it was for them that the various officers' ranks were reserved. In consideration of these privileges all the *noblesse* were bound by absolute obedience to the sovereign, even in matters affecting their private life; and this rigorous dependence was all the more irksome, inasmuch that, in such a miniature kingdom, the monarch could keep himself accurately informed as to the affairs of his subjects. This must have provoked discontent among the more independent of the members of his *entourage*, whose natures must have resented such servitude: however, in view of the fact that the royal family was easy-going and

well-intentioned, such a discontent would not be likely to have any very serious results.

Count Vittorio Alfieri himself, though an ardent hater of tyrants, wrote, *apropos* of Victor Amadeus III. (who reigned from 1773 to 1796): "Although I do not like kings in general, and still less arbitrary ones, I am bound to admit that the family of our princes is excellent, especially when you come to compare it with all the other reigning houses of Europe. And in my inmost heart I rather feel affection for them than otherwise, seeing that this king—like his predecessor Charles Emmanuel III.—has the best intentions, the most charming disposition and exemplary temper, and has done his country a great deal more good than harm."¹ Unfortunately, Victor Amadeus III., although conscientious and upright, was deficient in strength of character and a knowledge of his times, so that it can be understood how, under a prince of such temperament, promotion was granted to the most worthless courtiers.

The clergy counted as a powerful influence, at this period, in the state. Without reckoning Sardinia and Savoy, there were not less than twenty thousand priests and twelve thousand monks and nuns in the province of Piedmont alone. The Church possessed its own tribunals and prisons; it claimed the exclusive right of judging cases against ecclesiastics and sought to establish its own competency against that of the laity in all that had to do with matters of faith, questions of heresy, matrimonial

¹ *Vita di Vittorio Alfieri.*



THE ROYAL PALACE, TURIN.
Begun in 1660.

suits, &c. The priesthood formed a wealthy, as well as a numerous body; not so the nobles, among whom there were very few who could boast of an annual income of fifty thousand francs. Both *noblesse* and priesthood were, however, in a great measure exempted from taxation, the burden of which hence fell on the other classes of society.

The *bourgeoisie* naturally viewed the privileges of the nobility as a grievance. The richer members of the middle classes tried to acquire titles and thus to become ennobled themselves. Men who had risen through wealth and education, keenly realised the odium of those social differences which were continually making themselves felt, as, for example, in the fashion of dress, and although they were devoted supporters of an ancient and glorious throne, would have welcomed many reforms had the latter been introduced.

Just at this period, many men, distinguished by genius and learning, began to emerge from the ranks of the Piedmontese *bourgeoisie*. Seeing themselves neglected by the government, and not finding a favourable *milieu* in so far uncultured Piedmont, they sought for protection and honours elsewhere. Thus Giuseppe Baretti (1716-1789), the eminent critic, author of the *Frusta Letteraria*, lived for many years in England; the illustrious historian, Carlo Denina (1731-1813), the author of the *Rivoluzioni D'Italia*, incurred the bitter hatred of the friars on account of his book, *Dell'Impiego Delle Persone*, and to avoid their persecution, took refuge in Berlin, whither Frederic II. had invited

him, and thence went to Paris where he died ; whilst the great mathematician, Luigi Lagrange (1736-1813), also passed the most important years of his life in Berlin and Paris. Thus the influential members of the middle class who would have been most capable of initiating a movement of ideas, emigrated instead.

The King, Victor Amadeus III., thought of nothing but the army, and on this he lavished all his time and attention. He adopted Frederic II. as his model and for this reason affected Prussian uniforms, weapons, and discipline for his soldiers ; but these innovations served more for external display rather than for any practical purpose. He devoted enormous sums to the furtherance of his plans ; out of a revenue of twenty million francs, ten were monopolised for the expenses of the army. As might have been expected, the financial administration did not prosper ; the deficit, that had begun some years before, as well as the taxes, went on continually increasing. But notwithstanding, he pursued his way, strangely heedless of whither it tended and absolutely ignoring the new order of things.



Passing beyond the Ticino, we reach that beautiful and fertile plain of Lombardy which was formerly the centre and living nucleus of the Italian communes : many of the magnificent buildings which now embellish its cities, as well as some of the most useful public works which make this region the true paradise of Italy, date back to that glorious

epoch. This flourishing state of things had continued under the Visconti and Sforza *régimes*, but no sooner had Spanish rule supplanted the latter, than all progress was arrested, though it is worthy of note that the decadence of Lombardy was not so rapid as that of Naples and Sicily. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Milanese had passed to Austrian rule under which it had been amalgamated with Mantua, the latter having been deprived of the Gonzaga dynasty which in the last wars had declared against the empire.

Under the new order the Lombardy province began to recover from the miserable condition to which it had been reduced by Spanish mis-government. When the war of the Austrian Succession was ended and Maria Theresa's position had been established, an epoch of material and intellectual regeneration was inaugurated for Lombardy. The whole of the administration was reorganised; the taxes were more fairly distributed; the privileges of the clergy were reduced; the Inquisition and right of asylum were abolished; the streets were improved; agriculture was assisted and an impulse was given to industry and commerce. The country, moreover, followed the initiative of the government, in spite of the latter being that of the foreigner. The leading families had a share in public affairs; thus we can see the Belgioioso, Visconti, Serbelloni, Trivulzio, Castelbarco, D'Adda, Pallavicini, Borromeo and Litta houses represented in high offices of the state. These and other families, all very wealthy, lived in

great splendour and entertained with much magnificence.

Indeed, at this epoch Milan could rank as the first of Italian cities. In 1778 the theatre of *La Scala* was opened; it suddenly acquired fame through the wonderful stage representations there given. Learning flourished likewise: in many *salons* of the upper classes, literary and scientific men found a favourable reception, and the new theories of French philosophy were discussed. Milan, in fact, became a nursing-ground for these modern notions. In 1761 the Marquis Cesare Beccaria published his valuable little work *Dei Delitti E Delle Pene*, in which he advocated the abolition of torture and the death penalty, and suggested a more equitable adjustment of punishments to crimes. Shortly afterwards, Count Pietro Verri—one of the most worthy and zealous promoters of civil reforms—and his brother Alessandro, a man of recognised literary ability, with Beccaria and others, brought out a periodical entitled *Il Caffè*, in which for more than a year, they treated, for the public benefit, questions affecting legislation, morals, history and letters, and proclaimed unexpected truths in no uncertain voice.

Milan itself then contained one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, and those in the remainder of the province were computed at a million. Among the lesser towns, Pavia was celebrated for its university where the government had gathered together such distinguished men as the physician, Alessandro Volta, the naturalist, Spallanzani, and the mathematician

Mascheroni. In other places, as, for example, in Como, the industries were thriving. The country was admirably cultivated and provided with an organised net-work of irrigation canals, but the peasant possessed hardly anything of his own—a deprivation which forcibly aggravated the wretchedness of his existence.

There was much property in the hands of the clergy, who, in spite of all the reforms which had been made, were still flourishing and numerous; the tale of priests, monks and nuns amounted to about eighteen thousand. Joseph II., who, after the death of his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1780, assumed the reins of power, acted with great energy in the matter of ecclesiastical administration; he abolished convents that he judged useless and all those religious communities which did not maintain schools, assist the sick, preach, hear confessions or distinguish themselves by their learning, ruling that their existence was to depend on the bishop of the diocese, rather than on the general of the order residing at Rome; he diminished the number of festivals and prescribed a thousand other remedies of a disciplinary character, encroaching thereby even on the pontifical jurisdiction itself. At the same time he restricted the power of the nobles and issued an infinite number of decrees and laws, renewing and transforming the whole of the administration. It must be admitted, however, that he wished to assure the welfare of his subjects by 'sledge-hammer' methods, and consequently respected neither their traditions, interests nor habits. His work, drastic, hasty and

centralising as it was, did not always give satisfaction, but nevertheless it left deep traces on the country. The latter, inured by centuries of habit to a foreign yoke, hardly resented such, but was content to make the most of a material prosperity and a flourishing condition of letters, and to ignore the development of reforms.

* * *

Venice, on the contrary, was uninfluenced by these new ideas ; whilst all the world around her was reforming itself, she sought to preserve intact the edifice of the past, fearing, that were but one stone shaken, the whole might crumble. The province of about three million inhabitants was ruled by a single city, or rather by one class alone of Venetian citizens who governed by hereditary right ; the mainland—that is to say, Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia, and the small territory that the Republic still possessed in the East, had no share in the government. The sovereignty belonged to the Great Council composed of all the Venetian patricians over the age of twenty-five ; in 1780 their number amounted to a thousand and twenty-three. The Great Council, or *Maggior Consiglio*, elected from its midst the Senate, which was composed of about two hundred and fifty members, and was responsible for the conduct of affairs ; but the real centre of executive authority was the Lesser Council, or *Signoria*, constituted by the Doge, by his six councillors, by the three chiefs of the Council of Forty (*Quarantia*), and by the Council of Sixteen Wise Men (*Savii*) who were elected by the Senate. The Doge by himself could do nothing, he was not

allowed even to read the letters addressed to him by foreign powers, but was only the apparent head of the state.

Such a political order did not harmonise with the new age; already the Veronese savant, the Marquis Scipione Maffei, had addressed, as far back as 1736, his *Consiglio Politico*, to the Venetian rulers, in which he pointed out the propriety of interesting the provinces in the fate of the Republic, and of giving them a share in the government, as a means beneficial to the vitality of the state, but his advice was unheeded. The nobles of the predominating houses trusted in the unbroken continuance of their oligarchy, and if any among them allowed themselves to be influenced by the new French ideas, they ran the risk of sharing the unhappy fate which awaited Angelo Querini, Giorgio Pisani, and Carlo Contarini, who, in their efforts to introduce reforms into the existing system of affairs, were arrested and condemned to many years of imprisonment. The governing authorities looked upon these proposals as the vagaries of a visionary and factious youth, and imagined the perfection of political science to consist in keeping intact the normal order of things in the Republic.

The same principle was also applied to external politics. The last war carried on by Venice had been that against the Turks—1714 to 1718—in which she lost the Morea. Thenceforward the Republic took refuge in absolute isolation and complete inaction. She stood in fear, indeed, of the ambitious views of Austria, but dared not declare herself inimical to the latter, or

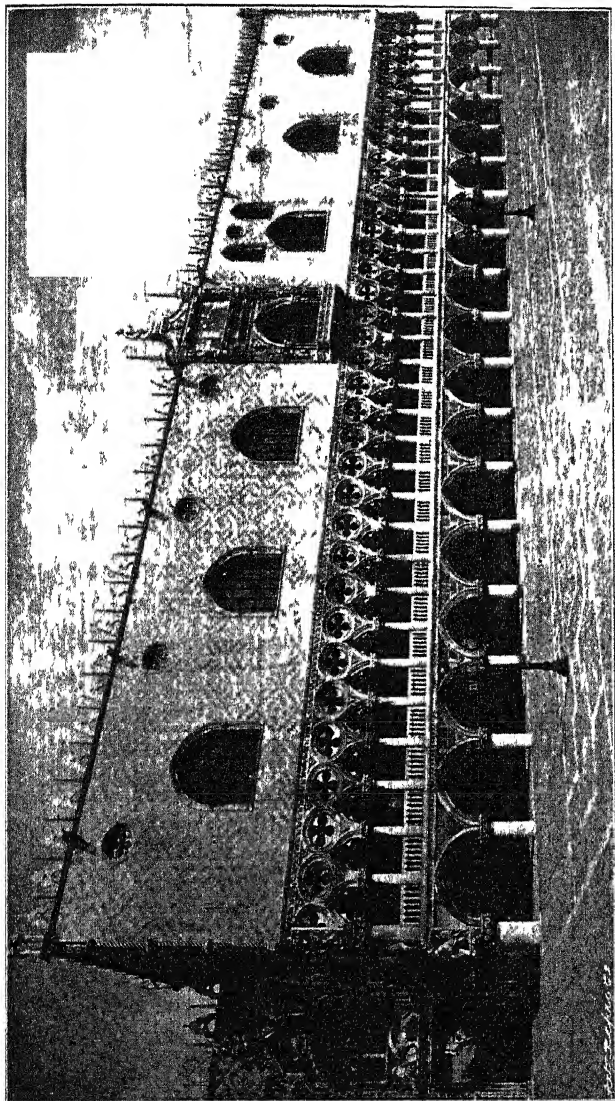


Photo 1

THE DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE.
xiv.-xvth century.

[*Palazzo Alinari, Florence.*

venture to ratify an alliance with France ; therefore, in the various wars waged in Italy, in the first half of the eighteenth century, she preserved a neutrality, which being, as it were, unarmed, obtained, at least, respect. Hence her power in the eyes of Europe was already rapidly on the wane. Moreover the last campaign sustained by Venice had proclaimed to the world not only her inherent weakness, but also the deficiency of her military equipment. In that arsenal—in past times so justly celebrated—there were but a few vessels in course of construction, a scant number of workmen and indifferent munitions of war. The army was in a worse condition than the fleet and consisted of barely twenty thousand ill-clad and undisciplined troops. Rightly enough did the old patrician, Francesco Pesaro, exclaim : “ We live under the protection of the good faith of our friends and neighbours, and in that we put our trust ! ”

This perilous situation, which ought to have awakened keen anxiety, did not in the least affect the pleasure-loving and frivolous existence led by the Venetians. All the idlers of Europe willingly found their way to Venice where there existed an ample license for pleasure ; it was the custom to wear masks for a good half of the year ; manners were very free, not to say demoralised, and the passion for play was widespread. The famous adventurer, Giacomo Casanova, in his *Memorie*, has represented—certainly not without some exaggeration—the gay and idle life of the Venetians at this epoch. Their *fêtes* were frequent and magnificent ; some few families possessed vast incomes. The clergy were likewise wealthy and

numerous ; the province was reckoned to contain nearly forty thousand priests, monks and nuns. In the main, however, the country was not rich ; its industries were greatly reduced, although its inhabitants viewed the decline of its commerce with indifference. The one work of great utility achieved at this time was the long breakwater against the inroads of the sea, consisting of the huge marble walls called the *Murassi*. Certainly the taxes were not heavy—a fact which caused the government to be favourably regarded by the majority, especially by the lower classes.

Though the sun of the Republic was setting, it was sinking in a flood of gorgeous colour ; the brilliant reflection of those fine arts, represented by the music of Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739), the paintings of G. B. Tiepolo (1693–1770) and the comedies of Carlo Goldoni, the renowned reformer of the Italian stage (1707–1793), cast, as it were, luminous rays of glory over the moribund state, suggestive though they might be of the hectic splendours of decay.



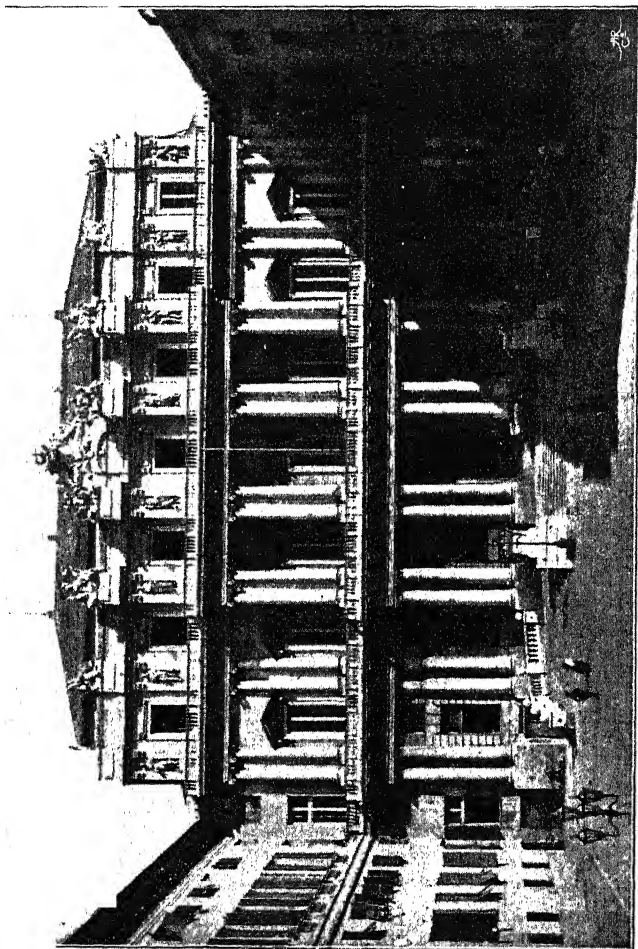
Much less political importance had the Republic of Genoa, henceforth Reduced to the mere possession of the Ligurian coasts, with barely four hundred thousand inhabitants. Weary of the constant revolts of Corsica, it had, at length (1768), ceded to Louis XV. all its rights in this island which after an obstinate resistance had been obliged to submit to France. Pasquale Paoli, the hero of Corsican independence, embarked with some followers in a British vessel and sought an asylum in England. In the struggle against Corsica,

Genoa had displayed all her weakness; nevertheless, her people were still bold and warlike and had given striking proofs of courage in the famous days of December, 1746, when they expelled the Austrians and Russians from the city. But these transitory efforts did not suffice to imbue with energy and vitality a government with no more glorious ambition than that of living in peace and quiet.

In Genoa likewise, the reins of power were in the hands of the aristocracy; but, contrary to the Venetian custom where he was elected for life, here the Doge only remained in office two years. He was nominated by the Great Council, but the nobles drew lots for the other offices in the state, and from this custom originated the *lotto* system, which afterwards obtained in many Italian states. The activity of the people was entirely absorbed by commerce which continued to flourish, for Genoa was, indubitably, the most important of all Italian seaports.



The two duchies of Parma and Modena counted for very little in the political balance of Italy. The dukedoms of Parma and Piacenza had been created in 1545 by Pope Paul III., a member of the Farnese family, for the advantage of his son Pier Luigi. This house which never especially distinguished itself, became extinct in 1731. The duchy, after many vicissitudes, finally passed in 1748 to Don Philip of Bourbon—the second son of Elizabeth, the sister of the last Farnese, who had become Queen of Spain—with



From a photograph by]

THE DUCAL PALACE, GENOA.

Uregi.

whom the Bourbon dynasty was initiated at Parma. Under the influence of his first minister, Guillaume Du Tillot, a Frenchman, Don Philip inaugurated important reforms, set limits to the privileges of the *noblesse* and the immunity of the priesthood, and encouraged arts and letters to such an extent that Parma became one of the most cultured cities in Italy.

Du Tillot's work of reformation was carried on even after the death of Don Philip in 1765, during the minority of Duke Ferdinand, but when the latter attained his majority, Du Tillot saw his power decline and eventually retired. The young Duke, educated under the influence of Condillac and Mably, became—as frequently happens in such cases—a believer, nay a *dévo*t; he sang in the choir with the clergy, embellished altars, gave audiences in the sacristy and amused himself by ringing the bells; all these employments, however, did not prevent him from leading a dissolute life. Under such a prince, not only were further reforms hindered, but those already achieved were abolished.

This state contained a little more than four hundred thousand inhabitants and fewer still did the adjoining duchy of Modena possess, *i.e.*, three hundred and eighty thousand. The province was then governed by Hercules III., the last representative of that ancient house of Este which, at one time, had acquired such wide renown through the magnificence of its court and the protection it had given to arts and letters. For nearly two centuries, however, this dynasty had lost its ancient capital, Ferrara—annexed

by the pontifical government in the year 1598—and it had been compelled to withdraw to Modena and rest content with the latter territory and Reggio: naturally, from this epoch, its history had only a restricted and local importance. Hercules III. managed to exist quietly without troubling his head about innovations or clashing with the papal court; indeed, his one object was to make money. It is said that with three million francs of income, he found means of annually saving a third. He had only one daughter, Beatrice, given in marriage to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, a son of Maria Theresa who had gladly furthered such an alliance since it greatly served to extend Austrian influence in Italy.



The chief princely Italian families seemed fated to disappear nearly at the same time. In 1737, that house of Medici whose name is as intimately associated with literature and the fine arts as it is with the history of Florence, and which had represented, in truth, the sovereignty predestined for an artistic race, became extinct. Its last scions had hardly carried on worthily their ancestral traditions and had allowed Tuscany to decay rapidly; the only notable work achieved by them had been the foundation and embellishment of Leghorn which was to become an important commercial centre.

By the peace of Vienna (1738) the grand duchy of Tuscany had been assigned to Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa. He was not long in Tuscany for he found himself embroiled in the

great wars of the Austrian Succession and afterwards ascended the imperial throne. However, his ministers laid the bases of reforms to which his second son, Peter Leopold I., who succeeded him in the dukedom in 1765, subsequently gave great impetus.

Even to-day the memory of Leopold I. is still cherished in Tuscany with deep affection and gratitude and he is regarded, with justice, as one of the most distinguished of Italian reforming rulers. With an *entourage* that comprised such men as Pompeo Neri, Giulio Rucellai and others, Leopold set himself to destroy every trace of mediævalism. Above all, he aimed at diminishing the power of the priesthood, a necessary step in Tuscany where, under the later Medici, the clergy had acquired extraordinary wealth and influence; in a population of less than a million there were twenty-seven thousand ecclesiastics who owned, moreover, the greater part of the soil. Leopold sought to suppress their immunities and likewise protected the religious movement initiated by Scipione Ricci, the bishop of Pistoia, who desired to lead the Church back to its evangelical purity; hence sharp contests with Rome. Leopold likewise introduced reforms in all other branches of public administration; he absolutely ratified the freedom of trade in cereals; he established the equality of all citizens in the matter of taxation and, from the first, subjected his own property thereto. He sought, by draining marshes, to better the condition of the Maremma; he protected commerce, and encouraged study by reforming and improving the universities of Pisa and Siena.

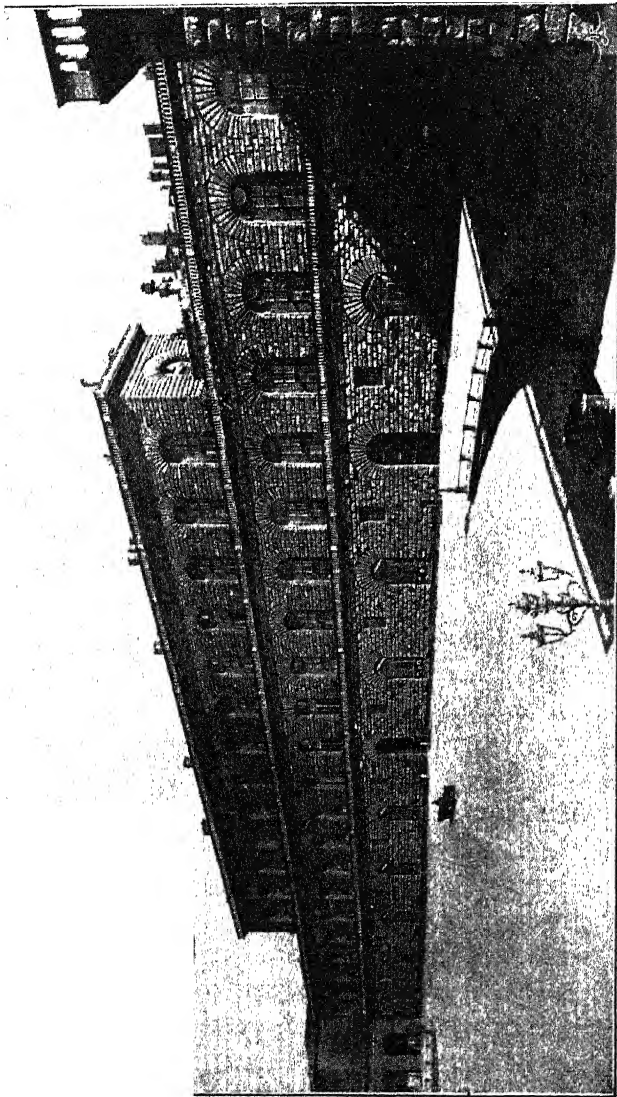


Photo.]

THE PITTI PALACE, FLORENCE.
Residence of the Grand-Duke (17th century.)

[Frutelli album, Florence.]

He was also the first among the world's rulers to abolish torture and the death-penalty. In 1789 he published a statement of government accounts of the revenue and expenditure from 1765 to 1788, and it would appear, intended granting a constitution, had he not been called, through the death of his brother Joseph II. in 1790, to fill the imperial throne. His reforms however, in general, were so above the comprehension of his subjects, that the majority of the latter failed to appraise their beneficial effects.

In Tuscany too, there still existed the little Republic of Lucca, a relic of the communal period, whose territory extended as far as the sea-coast of Viareggio. With her population of a hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, governed by a hundred noble families, with her noble and ecclesiastical land-owners and her garrison of soldiers maintained only for parade, Lucca was a typical miniature representative of an Italian state in the eighteenth century.

* * *

The popes had finally succeeded, after efforts lasting for several centuries, in rendering their temporal sovereignty indisputable and in uniting their states; thus it was that the city of Bologna, which had always preserved something of a republican attitude and a certain amount of autonomy, had to renounce these against its will (1788). There existed, in fact, in the centre of the peninsula, a district comprising two millions and a half of inhabitants, governed by priests, with a papal ruler elected by cardinals who in their

turn were nominated by the pontiff with ministers of religion ordained by the same functionaries and episcopal governors. Hence, if the clergy were powerful in the other Italian provinces, in the papal dominions they were omnipotent; for the state itself came to be looked upon as an ecclesiastical benefice, to be freely exploited, without the least regard for the welfare of the people or the progress of civilisation. It can be easily understood how, under such a government, the inhabitants became not only inert and poor, but demoralised and vicious as well.

An eminent French writer, the president, Charles de Brosses, who visited Rome in 1740, has recorded his impressions of the then-existing *régime* in words of burning indignation: "The government is as bad as it is possible to conceive. You feel that here is realised the antithesis of the Utopias that Machiavelli and Morus delighted to construct. Imagine, if you can, a population in which one fourth is composed of priests, one fourth of statues, another fourth of idlers, and a state where neither agriculture, commerce nor mechanics exist, in spite of its people living in the midst of a fertile province, on the banks of a navigable river; where the ruler, always aged, with few more years to live, is, as often as not, absolutely incapable of independent action and is surrounded by relatives whose one idea is to 'make hay while the sun shines,' and where, at each change in the pontificate, fresh thieves appear on the scene to supplant those who are sated with plunder, for here any one may become a scourge to society, provided he

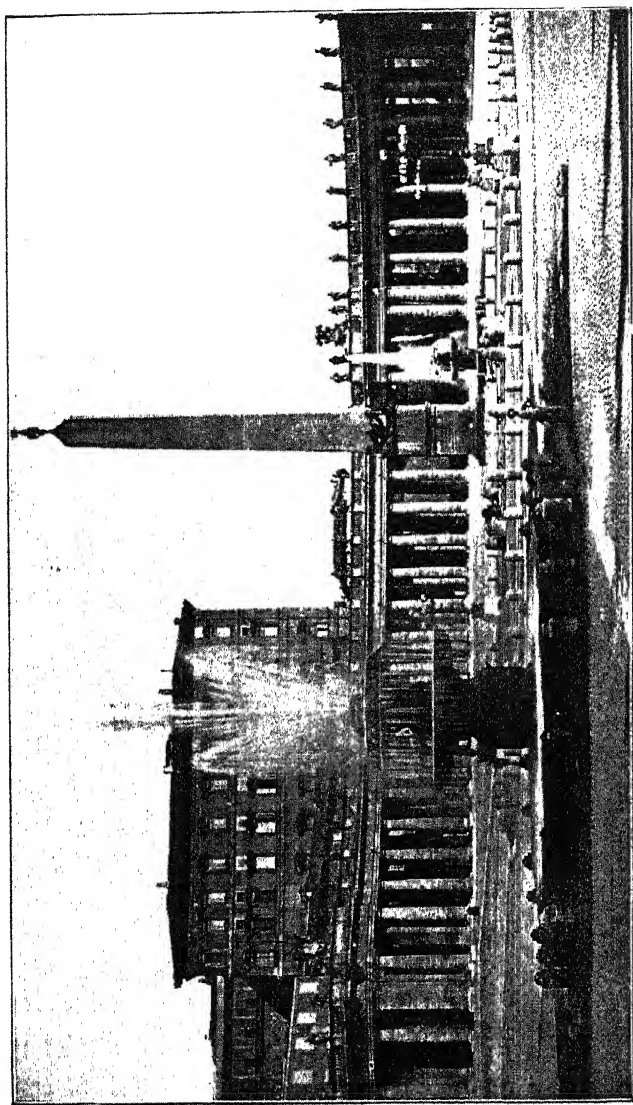
be backed up by influential friends, or within reach of an asylum." ¹

Francesco Becattini also, in his *Storia Di Pio VI.* (Venice, 1800), was compelled to admit that, with the exception of Turkey, the States of the Church were worse governed than any other part of Europe. There was an utter absence of that hard-working and enlightened middle-class who were beginning to come to the front in Northern Italy, for no *bourgeoisie* bridged the gulf between a proud and ignorant nobility and the proletariat. All the cities were besides inundated with an incredible number of beggars.

Rome itself swarmed with ecclesiastics who had come thither, from all parts of the world, with the sole aim of making their fortune. All offices were venal, and with the revenues derived from such sales and the offerings of the faithful from all parts, the papal court had the wherewithal to draw upon, without grinding down its subjects by taxes; but as in the country districts there was neither industry nor commerce, and agriculture was much neglected, the population suffered even by meeting such small taxation as was demanded of them.

It must be owned, however, that the 'Eternal City' had been greatly improved during the three preceding centuries, that is to say, after the popes had almost entirely given their attention to their temporal dominion, and even during these later days, had been enriched by the imposing colonnades of

¹ *Lettres Historiques Et Critiques Sur L'Italie*, de Charles De Brosses. Paris, an. vii., tom. ii., pp. 245-246.



THE VATICAN.

the Piazza of St. Peter, the fountains of Piazza Navona and Trevi, and the façade of St. John Lateran, &c., while the splendid collection contained in the Museo Pio-Clementino had been brought together. Rome, at that time, comprised one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants.

Pope Pius VI. (1775-1799) turned his attention to the country and attempted to drain the Pontine marshes, but spent vast sums thereon with but little result. This served but the better to enrich his nephew, Braschi, for whom the Pontiff built a palace in Rome. Nepotism to any great extent had indeed been abolished, but the Pope's relations were always omnipotent at court and controlled, at their own pleasure, the revenues of the state. This same Prince Braschi had for some time as his secretary the young priest, Vincenzo Monti, who was then beginning to acquire a distinguished name in the literary world by his tragedy of *Aristodemo*. Literature and the arts were still in some measure represented at Rome; the archæologist, Ennio Quirino Visconti was already celebrated; the sculptor, Antonio Canova, who had arrived there, still young, from his native Venetian province, had even then attained distinction by his first works; the Milanese savant, Alessandro Verri, had taken up his residence in the city, whilst Vittorio Alfieri had finished his first tragedies and had read them aloud in the *salons*: all this activity, however, only exercised a limited and nearly unappreciable influence over a small and restricted circle of cultivated persons. The Roman aristocracy as well as the clergy

neglected study, whilst the new philosophy was bitterly detested because it had an evident tendency to abate ecclesiastical privileges.¹

* * *

The largest Italian state was the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, containing about six millions of inhabitants. This unhappy country had been terribly exhausted by Spanish rule which had ruined the population without achieving anything for their good: never indeed had a government less care for its subjects. When the Spaniards had to evacuate those provinces at the commencement of the eighteenth century, they left them destitute alike of roads, industries and commerce.

After a short Austrian dominion, the new Bourbon dynasty was implanted in the Neapolitan States in 1734, in the person of Charles III., eldest son of Elizabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain. To him belongs the credit of having chosen the learned Bernardo Tanucci as his prime minister, who may be justly regarded as the inaugurator of all the reforms made in the kingdom. These were initiated by an attempt to diminish ecclesiastical immunities and privileges and to reduce the number of priests, monks and nuns which was truly astounding. On the mainland alone, in a population of less than five millions, there were one hundred thousand religious. Steps were then

¹ The popes at this epoch had a hard struggle to defend the Jesuits who had been expelled from Portugal, France and Spain as well as from Naples and Parma, but finally Pope Clement XIV. determined in 1773, on their abolition. The Society of Jesus was afterwards re-constituted by Pius VII. in 1814.

taken to weaken and lessen feudalism, much stronger here than elsewhere in Europe, and in order to ensure this the more easily, the barons were invited to court. In the magnificence and extravagance of Neapolitan life many of them were fairly ruined, whilst this policy of absenteeism tended to lessen their power in the country districts.

The city of Naples gained much from the new dynasty, not only in social brilliancy, but in beautiful buildings, such as the imposing theatre of San Carlo and the palace of Capodimonte. In a wish to imitate the splendours of Versailles, Charles III. caused the royal palace of Caserta to be built in an immense park, at the cost of six millions of ducats. Under his auspices also the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum—the two cities buried in the terrible eruption of Vesuvius in the year 79 A.D.—were carried on. High roads in the vicinity of Naples were likewise opened up, but this was more to benefit the court than the people at large. Pompous display continued to be the principal characteristic of the Neapolitan government, but it did not ameliorate the miserable condition of the country, which was aggravated by swarms of beggars. In Naples itself the *lazzaroni*, as they were called, led an idle existence in the streets, living on the alms distributed to them at the convents.

In 1759, Charles III., being called to the Spanish throne, made over his Italian possessions to his son Ferdinand, still a minor. Tanucci continued to govern the state and, by agreement with Spain, expelled the Jesuits in 1767. Later was abolished

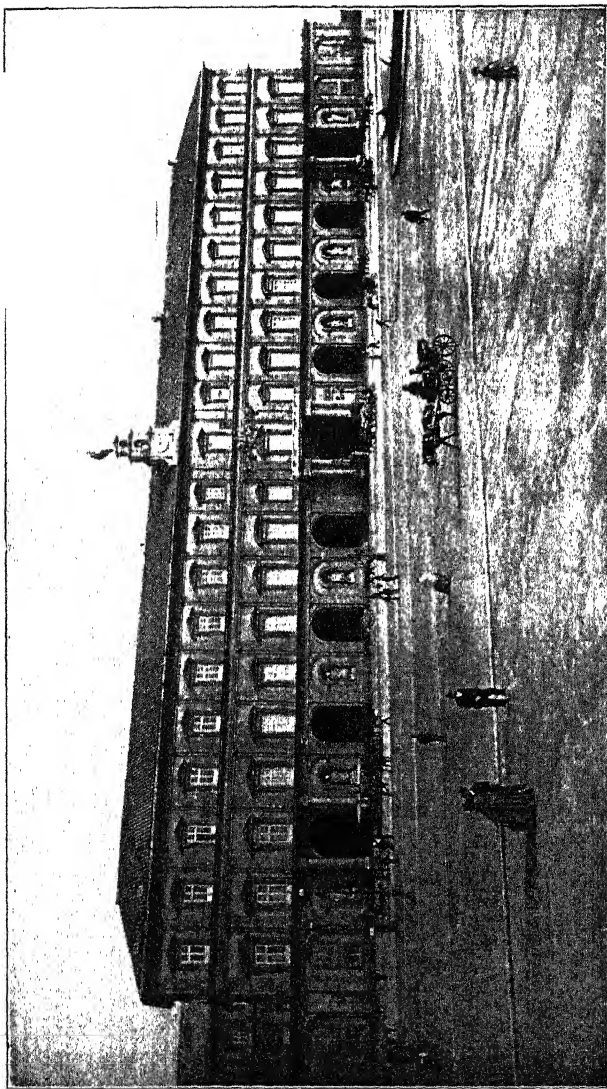


Photo.]

THE ROYAL PALACE, NAPLES.
Begun 1600.

[Fratelli Alinari, Florence.]

the *china*—a horse richly caparisoned—which it was the annual custom to present to the Pope, together with seven thousand golden *scudi*, as a symbol of the vassalage of the Neapolitan kingdom to the Holy See. But Tanucci verified at Naples what Du Tillot had experienced at Parma—the influence of the minister gradually waned, till, in 1776, he received his dismissal.

The direction of affairs, instead of passing into the hands of the King, was assumed by his wife, Maria Caroline of Austria, a daughter of Maria Theresa. Whilst King Ferdinand, ignorant and boorish, did not trouble his head about matters of state, Maria Caroline, a daring and ambitious woman, presided over the ministerial councils and introduced therein one John Acton, an Irishman, born at Besançon who, after having served in the French and Tuscan marine, had been summoned to Naples by Ferdinand and had obtained a high position in the navy. In a short time, Acton had become the favourite of the Queen and the most important personage in the state. He turned all his attention to the army and navy, both of which were in a truly deplorable condition; but although he spent enormous sums—three millions of ducats in the year, out of the eleven and a half millions which represented the revenue of the kingdom—Acton did not succeed in appreciably bettering the existing state of things. On the contrary, he retarded both civil and ecclesiastical reforms, and that, just at the time when the march of progress was advancing with increased speed, owing chiefly to such writers

of eminence as Antonio Genovesi, professor of political economy, Gaetano Filangieri, author of that *Storia Della Legislazione* which exercised so great an influence on Neapolitan thinkers, and Mario Pagano who really popularised the new philosophy, and many others. In fact, Naples was an intellectual centre, where the influence of the French encyclopædists was making itself felt.

Far in the rear of this movement of ideas was Sicily who had always held aloof from the current of European civilisation. Severed from Naples after the famous 'Sicilian Vespers' in 1282, she had consisted of a separate kingdom up to the year 1409 when the reigning Aragonese dynasty became extinct. She had then been made a direct dependency of Spain and had been governed by the latter's viceroys up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. First relegated to Victor Amadeus II., afterwards to Austria, Sicily had finally been reunited to Naples under the Bourbons.

Through all these vicissitudes of rule, however, the Sicilian parliament, which, composed of nobles, prelates and representatives, had been a distinct protest against feudalism, had subsisted intact; in fact, the barons and ecclesiastics governed. In a population of one million two hundred thousand inhabitants, nearly eight hundred thousand were dependent on feudatories, and fully sixty-three thousand were priests, monks and nuns. From time to time the ignorant and famished populace revolted, as in 1773, but as these *émeutes* had no political significance, being simply induced, for the most part, by famine, only the

lower orders were affected thereby, and the existing rulers always succeeded in pacifying the mob by temporary concessions that did not, however, in the least ameliorate the real state of things. In 1780, the Marquis Domenico Caracciolo, formerly ambassador at Paris, was nominated viceroy. Fired by the innovating theories which he had imbibed in the French capital, he initiated bold reforms which the nobles and clergy, whose own interests were thereby hurt, sturdily opposed; there was no middle class to support him and the proletariat was incapable of understanding the changes he inaugurated; thus his work, but feebly supported by the court of Naples, was a complete failure.



In 1789 Italy was still a paradise for the clergy and *noblesse*, but in some cities, especially in Northern Italy, the development of industries and commerce kept pace with that of the *bourgeoisie*, which, as it increased in numbers and wealth, began to give voice to its discontent at the social order. Amongst such a highly imaginative race as the Italians, the new notions would naturally clothe themselves in poetry; thus Milan, that nursing-mother of innovating spirits, gave birth to Giuseppe Parini (1729-1799). With him, poetry renewed her mission of education; his *Giorno* is a wonderful satire on the idle and empty existence led by the aristocracy as well as a passionate eulogy of the active good qualities of the lower classes. He proclaimed likewise in clear and lofty language the idea of social equality.

“ Forse vero non è, ma un giorno è fama
Che fur gli uomini eguali, e ignoti nomi
Fur plebe e nobiltà.”

(Perhaps it is not true, but it is said
That once all men were equal, and unknown,
Plebeian, even as patrician, names.

PARINI, *Il Giorno.*)

The verses of Parini were widely read and found a powerful echo throughout the peninsula.

But the voice which rang loudest in support of liberty and sounded even as the herald of a new Italy, was that of the Piedmontese, Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803). At that time the stage excited universal attention in Italy. Judging from appearances, it might have been thought that the Italians of the eighteenth century had no enthusiasm for anything but theatrical representations. All the richest and most magnificent theatres of Italy date from that epoch. As was natural, music was an important feature in these functions. Pergolesi, Porpora, Tartini and many more composers, won the cordial applause of a public that was as eager to welcome comedy as tragedy. In view of such a taste, Alfieri, a man of strong, energetic and independent character, tried to avail himself of the drama to stir his countrymen—who seemed to him so irresponsive to patriotic sentiments—to nobler ambitions. One ideal in particular was henceforth to be developed in Italy—that of nationality. Heretofore, political divisions had tended to alienate the inhabitants of different provinces from one another. Each still had its individual history and its own private interests, for in

every place there were only too many causes for hatred and rivalry. In such a *milieu* did Alfieri dare to be the first to speak aloud of Italian nationality and to bid his compatriots reflect on the ancient greatness of their country and its present decadence. He made them, too, feel the need of that re-awakening whose advent he proclaimed. He dwelt constantly on the idea of a new Italy, at a time when it was hardly thought of. Hence his tragedies have an importance more political than literary, since they may really be said to have accelerated the formation of a national conscience.



VITTORIO ALFIERI.

II

ITALY DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE outbreak of the French Revolution produced a twofold effect in Italy. On the one hand, it intimidated the rulers who stopped half-way in reforms for which the people were now more eager than ever; hence a feud which was daily aggravated by the authorities trying to stifle the revolutionary spirit now so widely spread, by a policy of arrests and punishments: on the other, it fomented in the middle class of society a faction which aimed at destroying all the ancient order of things and indemnified its numerical weakness by enthusiasm—largely profiting at the same time by the French invasion.

At one time all the various Italian courts had been excited by the proposal of a general league against France; however, mutual jealousies and rivalries had hindered the organisation of such a coalition. Piedmont alone allied herself with Austria and, in 1792, hostilities commenced. Victory favoured the French who, in the same year, occupied Nice and Savoy, then made slow advances along the Ligurian coast and penetrated into some alpine valleys.

In 1796 the French government entrusted the command of their army to the young Corsican general, Napoleon Bonaparte, who initiated that year's campaign by addressing to his men the following proclamation : " Soldiers, you are ill-nourished and ill-clad. The government is much indebted to you, but can do nothing on your behalf. Your patience and courage are a credit to you, but you win therefrom neither profit nor renown. I am about to lead you to the most fertile plains in the world ; there you will find great cities and rich provinces, there honour, glory and wealth await you. Soldiers of Italy, will you be wanting in courage ? "

The soldiers were not wanting in courage, neither did their general lack the necessary genius for fulfilling his promises. By the fighting carried on at Montenotte, Millesimo and Dego, he succeeded in separating the allied Austrian and Piedmontese armies ; the Austrians were repulsed along the valley of the Bormida, above Acqui and Alessandria, whilst the Piedmontese fell back in the Tanaro valley, above Ceva and Mondovì.

Bonaparte first turned his attention to the Piedmontese and, on the 28th of April, 1796, obliged King Victor Amadeus III. to make peace : as a result of this, the Piedmontese monarch renounced his claims to Nice and Savoy, ceded several fortresses of Piedmont to the French and granted the latter a free passage through his dominions.

Having thus safeguarded his rear, Bonaparte directed his energies against the Austrian army which had now retreated into Lombardy, and on the

9th of May, his great victory at Lodi brought the whole of the province into his power. The Duke of Parma, taking fright, hastened to compromise matters with the invader by paying the heavy indemnity demanded and making over to him twenty of the best pictures in his gallery.¹ The Duke of Modena betook himself with his treasures to Venice, and left his subjects to come to terms with the conqueror, who exacted from them vast sums of money and confiscated fifteen of the finest pictures in the ducal collection.

The Austrians, having left a strong garrison in Mantua, withdrew to the mountains of Trentino. Bonaparte fortifying the passages of the Adige against all imperialist attacks on that side, now concentrated his efforts against the Pope who had always strongly disapproved of the French Republic: Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna were easily occupied, and the Pontiff was compelled to sue for peace.

However, Austria had, in the meantime, prepared another great army which, under the command of Marshal Wurmser, descended the valley of the Adige, repulsing the French troops—who were inferior in numbers—on all sides. But Bonaparte, rapidly gathering his forces together, succeeded in routing the Austrians both at Lonato and Castiglione delle Stiviere—to the south of the Lake of Garda. In consequence of this battle, Wurmser retreated and retraced his way up the Adige valley, but having

¹ Amongst these was Correggio's *St. Jerome* for which the duke vainly offered to pay a million francs: these works of art, with the others taken by Napoleon in Italy, were nearly all restored in 1815.

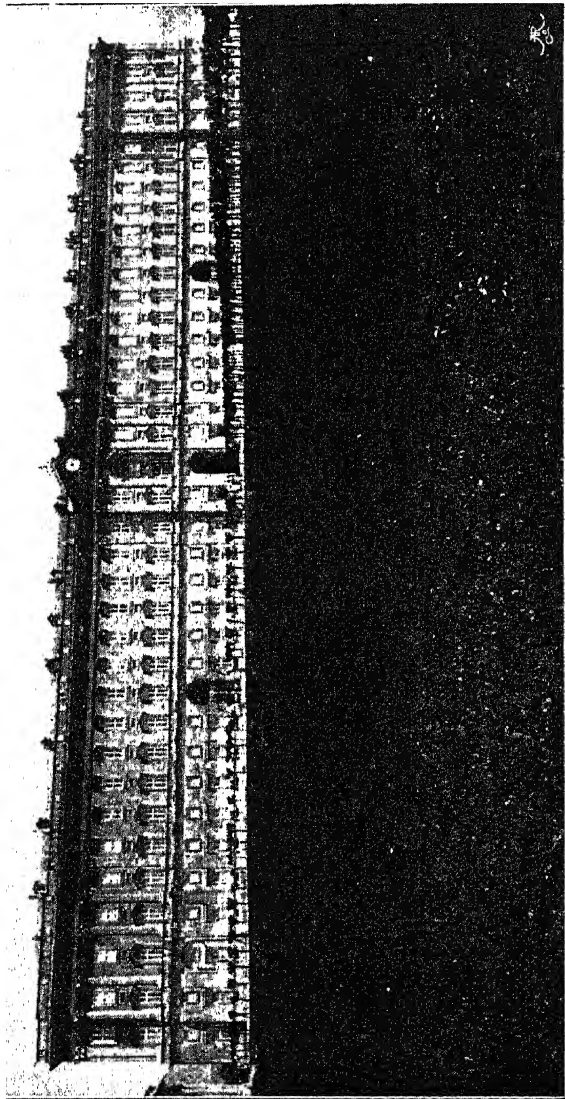


Photo.]

THE ROYAL PALACE, CASERTA.

[Fratelli Alinari, Florence



reached Trent, he fell back again on Italy by the valley of the Brenta. Bonaparte, who had meantime steadily pursued the Austrian general, kept in his rear till he overtook and defeated him at Bassano; Wurmsér, with difficulty, managed to lead a portion of his army to Mantua, and thither Bonaparte hastened to besiege him.

* * *

The cities of Reggio and Modena now revolted against the governors left in charge by the fugitive Duke; the French hastened to take advantage of these risings by forming a provisional government, and thus it was that these two cities, being united with Bologna and Ferrara—already wrested from the Pope—were organised into what was known as the Cispadane Republic. In this way was formed the first Italian state after the French republican invasion: it was the first province to adopt the tricoloured flag, comprising the white and red of the French standard, but substituting for the blue stripe of the latter, the green one that was already in local military use.

The Austrians, however, would not own themselves beaten and, assisted by English gold, raised another army under the command of Alvinzi. By this means Bonaparte found himself in a critical situation, but once more he proved himself capable of overcoming what seemed insuperable difficulties, and in a sanguinary battle at the bridge of Arcole, near Verona (November, 1796), he forced his opponents to retire. The latter, having acquired new reinforcements from Trentino, again fell back on

Verona, but sustained a crushing defeat at Rivoli, in January, 1797. Shortly afterwards Mantua, being sorely pressed, was compelled by the besiegers to surrender.

The Pope, trusting in the ultimate triumph of the Austrian arms, had not kept his engagements with the French; Bonaparte therefore again invaded the Papal States and victoriously entered the Marches and Umbria. The Pontiff, seeing himself thus beset, signed a treaty of peace at Tolentino in February, 1797, by which he renounced his claim to Avignon and Venaissin—occupied by the French since the end of 1791—and to the legations of Ferrara, Bologna and Romagna—which had been taken in 1796—and at the same time paid a heavy indemnity and surrendered many valuable works of art to the victor.

Scarcely had peace been concluded with the Pope, than Bonaparte had to return once more to Upper Italy, to confront another Austrian army under the Archduke Karl, a brother of the Emperor, Francis II. They met at Tagliamento, where the Austrians were again repulsed and pursued by the French who gained a fresh victory at the hill of Tarvisio and advanced as far as Leoben, twenty-five leagues from Vienna. Not till then did Austria condescend to treat and it was at Leoben, the 18th of April, 1797, that the preliminaries of peace were signed.

* * *

At this juncture, false rumours were circulated in the province of Venetia that the French army had been defeated; in several places, the peasantry,

invariably opposed to the new order of things, were encouraged by the priests and *noblesse* to arm themselves against the French; several of such bands entered the city of Verona and, assisted by the populace, massacred all the French they found there. This insurrection, known as the *Pasque Veronesi*, was soon quenched in blood, but Bonaparte saw in it a good pretext against the Venetian Republic and, by threatening the latter with attack, succeeded in changing the form of government. On the 12th of May, 1797, the Great Council of Venice, yielding to the pressure brought to bear upon it, renounced its authority and thus, without offering any dignified resistance, fell the oligarchy which, through long centuries, had ruled the glorious Republic of St. Mark. In its place, a democratic government was set up and the entry of the French into the city was secured. Before long the new-comers had rifled Venice of its wealth and works of art, treating it in every respect as the spoil of the conquered. For example, they carried off to Paris the four horses from the façade of St. Mark's, which had been taken by the Venetians at Constantinople in 1204.

In Genoa, likewise, the ancient aristocratic rule was abolished by Bonaparte's orders and a 'Ligurian Republic,' on the French model, was inaugurated in its stead.

Lombardy, which had been wrested from Austria, was then amalgamated with the Cispadane State, thus forming the so-called Cisalpine Republic, constituted on the lines of its French exemplar, with a directory and two councils. To celebrate the inauguration of

this new system of government, the 9th of July was observed as a solemn festival in Milan which thenceforth became the chief centre of Italian life.

In the October of the same year (1797), a treaty of peace was signed at Campo Formio, with Austria who thereby ceded Belgium, as well as all her territory on the right bank of the Rhine, to France and recognised the Cisalpine Republic which was composed, for the most part, of what were formerly Austrian possessions, but in return received the territory of Venetia. Thus the French virtually abandoned Venice which was occupied by the imperial troops on the 8th of January, 1798. In such a humiliating fashion did the Venetian Republic perish—its fall unredeemed by a single act of heroism which could have caused its loss to be regretted.¹

The cession of Venice to Austria gave the lie to those glorious promises of liberty and independence which had been held out by the French invaders, and the depredations and robberies of which they were guilty in the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics—treated almost as their vassals—was a bitter grievance to many Italians. Notwithstanding, the two years, 1796–97, marked the epoch of a great re-awakening in the life of the peninsula.

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After the peace of Campo Formio, Bonaparte returned to France in order to organise his Egyptian

¹ Ugo Foscolo, then little more than twenty years of age, forcibly expresses in the *Ultime Lettere Di Jacopo Ortis* the bitter grief felt by Italian patriots at this bartering of Venice to Austria.

campaign. In the meantime, the revolutionary party—although in a minority in the various Italian states—being assured of the support and favour of the French troops already retained in the peninsula, commenced a bold agitation which promoted fierce contentions. A riot broke out in Rome, during which the French embassy was attacked. The Directory made it a pretext for despatching thither an army which entered Rome, without opposition, on the 15th of February, 1798. The fall of the Pope's temporal power and the Roman Republic were proclaimed at the same time.¹

Shortly afterwards, King Ferdinand of Naples, inspired by the great victory gained by the English admiral, Nelson, over the French fleet at the battle of the Nile, believed that the hour had come for declaring war on France and set out for Rome with an army, in order to re-establish the temporal supremacy of the Pontiff. The French, of whom there were only a few in Rome, retired, and the Neapolitans took possession of the city on the 27th of November, 1798. But a few days afterwards, the French general, Championnet, having concentrated his forces, assumed the offensive and obliged the King of Naples, in consequence, to beat a rapid retreat. On arriving in his capital, Ferdinand only remained long enough to invest General Pignatelli with authority and then promptly embarked for Sicily. The French now made their way into the country and, with the

¹ Pius VI., driven from Rome, took refuge in Tuscany ; having been arrested later, by French orders, he was conducted to Valence, in France, where he died, 29th of August, 1799.

help of some of the middle-class Neapolitans, occupied the capital itself, in spite of the vigorous resistance maintained by the lower orders (January 22, 1799). It was then that the Parthenopæan Republic—so-called from the ancient name of the city—was proclaimed at Naples.

The Piedmontese king also, Charles Emmanuel IV.—who had succeeded his father Victor Amadeus III. in 1796—had seen the French, under one pretext or another, install themselves in Piedmont and had been forced to withdraw to Sardinia.

On hearing that Austria, allied with England and Russia, purposed entering Italy anew, the French drove the Hapsburgh-Lorraine dynasty out of Tuscany and took possession of the latter province. Thus, in March, 1799, the whole of the Italian peninsula, with the exception of the duchy of Parma and Piacenza—still ruled by its own duke—and Venice now held by Austria—was in their power.

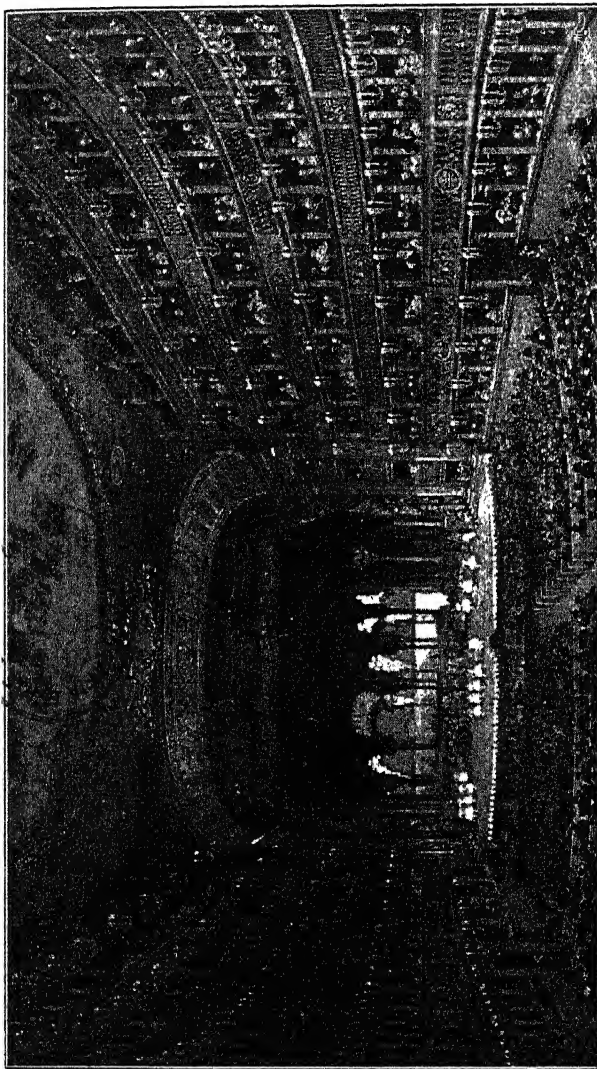
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But just then the Austro-Russian army, commanded by Suvaroff, appeared on Italian soil and gained notable victories in Upper Italy over the French. The latter had to recall their troops scattered in the rest of the peninsula, but these were also discomfited and compelled to retreat into Liguria. It was easy enough to overthrow the republican governments established by the French, considering their unstable bases in the Italian provinces, and many of the citizens, who had compromised themselves by supporting the new ideas, were forced to emigrate.

Meantime the members of the revolutionary party in Naples tried to defend themselves against the Bourbon troops, commanded by Cardinal Ruffo, but had to capitulate on the 20th of June, 1799. They had been promised a full amnesty, but the King and Queen had no intention of respecting the terms of this capitulation and wreaked cruel vengeance on the heads of the republican movement, who submitted most heroically to their fate; among the illustrious men who were sent to the scaffold by the Bourbon government, were the physician, Domenico Cirillo, the eminent lawyers Mario Pagano and Francesco Conforti, and Admiral Francesco Caracciolo.

Horatio Nelson likewise played a part in these events at Naples.¹ The English admiral arrived in the harbour with a fleet, when the armistice had already been concluded; he knew that King Ferdinand and Queen Caroline did not intend that any concessions should be granted to the rebels, therefore, when he saw the white flag floating from the fortress, he signalled his protest, then made known to Ruffo the King's intention. But the Cardinal declared that the capitulation ought to be respected. In such a case, indeed, the judgment given naturally depended on the royal decision, but at that time, the King was in Sicily. Nelson, with scanty diplomatic foresight, at the instigation, perhaps, of the English ambassador, Hamilton, tried to delay the carrying out of the capitulation, as far as its terms were

¹ Nelson's conduct at this juncture has given ground for very severe censure. Professor Villari, in an article recently published in the *Nuova Antologia* of the 16th of February, 1899, there sums up the results of investigations on the subject.



From a photograph by]

THEATRE OF SAN CARLO, NAPLES.
Built in 1737.

[Drogi.

favourable to the rebels and, when strict orders came from Palermo to annul such terms, he caused the republican chiefs to be imprisoned. It can be asserted, in fact, that on this occasion, he forgot he was a representative of England and instead of exercising that moderation worthy of his great nation, he made himself the instrument of Bourbon vengeance. The reason for his conduct is to be found in his blind infatuation for Lady Hamilton who had become the tool of the cruel Queen Caroline.

Everywhere re-action was triumphing. The old order of things was restored: armed bands of peasants scoured the country and perpetrated terrible acts of savagery against the revolutionists, many of whom repaired to France, in the hope of a successful revenge.

It was amongst these exiles from all parts of the peninsula, that the idea of Italian nationality worked most potently, and the Piedmontese, Carlo Botta—to whom, later, belonged the credit of largely diffusing it by his histories—was the first to sign a petition to the Council of Five Hundred inviting France to unify Italy. “Rome”—thus ended the document—“was never so illustrious as when she disposed of territories where the African encamped: France can never be greater than in declaring Italy to be free and independent when she is held captive by foreign troops.” This petition was signed by emigrants from Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Emilia, Romagna and Naples, demonstrating thereby that a common exile only served to merge their aspirations in one grand ideal: that of a free Italy!

III

THE NAPOLEONIC RÉGIME

THE beginning of the year 1800 saw the Austrians virtual masters of Italy: the French army, after having prolonged the campaign to the utmost of its power, was driven into Liguria and compelled to retire to Genoa which had just been blockaded by sea, by the English admiral, Keith.

Napoleon Bonaparte—who by the *coup d'état* of the 18th *Brumaire* had made himself master of affairs in France by assuming the title of First Consul—already meditated the re-conquest of Italy, and whilst he ordered General Massena, commanding the French force shut up in Genoa, to maintain a stout resistance, he conceived the bold design of leading another army across the Alps. To this end in May, 1800, he secretly concentrated troops in the neighbourhood of Geneva; then he proceeded to direct their operations in person and led his men to the pass of the great St. Bernard. The infantry found the march easy enough, but it was another matter for the cavalry; each man had to dismount and lead his horse—in spite of which pre-

caution some of the soldiers and their beasts fell over precipices by the way. The artillery pieces had to be dismounted, transported on hand barrows or on mules; the heaviest cannons were placed in trunks of trees, hollowed out for the purpose, and dragged along by ropes. When, after this wearisome climb, the French arrived at the hospice, at the summit of the pass, its inmates, the monks of St. Bernard, whom Bonaparte had previously furnished with money to provide victuals, distributed bread, cheese and wine to each soldier; afterwards each company began the descent which, although apparently less toilsome than the ascent, was really fraught with yet greater dangers.

Having surmounted all obstacles, Napoleon's forces at length reached the valley of Aosta where, advancing into the plain, they menaced the rear of the Austrian army. The latter which had just succeeded in occupying Genoa—only surrendered by Massena under pressure of starvation, after a most valiant resistance—had to beat a hasty retreat to Lombardy, to prevent communication being cut off with Austria.

A sanguinary battle took place on the 14th of June 1800, at Marengo near Alessandria, wherein the French would have been overpowered, had not General Desaix, who had been sent by Bonaparte in command of a wing of the army to reconnoitre in the direction of Novi, judged it expedient on hearing the roar of cannon, to turn back to his chief's assistance. Desaix is reported to have said: "The battle is lost, but it is only just three o'clock, there is still time to win another." Napoleon initiated

the attack: Desaix was killed, but the day ended with a decisive victory for the French.

The Austrians were now obliged to abandon all their conquests and to confirm the agreement made at Campo Formio. Napoleon re-established the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and France took possession of Piedmont. Other important changes took place: Parma and Piacenza were soon after ceded to France, and the Bourbon family to whom that duchy belonged, obtained instead Tuscany which was wrested from the house of Lorraine and constituted into a 'Kingdom of Etruria.'

At the end of 1801, Napoleon convoked four hundred and fifty-two notables of the Cisalpine Republic at Lyons, with the intention of framing the new constitution which in essence resembled the one then possessed by France. The legislative power was divided into four assemblies and vested in a consulate, tribunate, senate and legislative body (*Consulta, Censura, Consiglio* and *Corpo Legislativo*) whilst the executive power was placed in the hands of a president, elected for ten years, who possessed the rights of initiating legislation and of nominating functionaries. The polity so formed was henceforth to be known as the 'Italian Republic.' Napoleon Bonaparte was elected as president and he, in his turn, constituted Count Francesco Melzi vice-president. The evils of the military occupation of the preceding years having been diminished, this new Republic, protected by the great principles of liberty and civil equality, was enabled to enjoy genuine prosperity: not only had the very name of 'Italian'

a fascination for those it governed, but the absence of the president made its independence appear all the more real, whilst Melzi, by his sagacious rule, was well qualified to win the sympathies of the people.

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When the First Consul assumed in 1804 the title of Emperor of the French, it seemed incongruous that he should continue to be president of a republic ; consequently, the crown of the kingdom of Italy was offered him—a crown which he placed on his own head at Milan, the 26th of May, 1805, with the famous words : “ God gave it me—woe to him who touches it ! ” He nominated as viceroy, his step-son, Eugène Beauharnais, then only four-and-twenty years of age, but a young man of amiable and gentle disposition. The latter was anxious to show his gratitude towards the Emperor by a ready obedience ; thus it was that in deference to his chief’s orders, he discontinued the convocation of the legislative body at the first opposition he encountered therefrom on the question of some proposed laws. The kingdom of Italy thus fell at last under the yoke of this so-called enlightened despotism.

Moreover, whilst Napoleon was at Milan, the magistrates of the Ligurian Republic had suggested an amalgamation of their government with the French Empire ; the Emperor therefore betook himself to Genoa and formed this ancient state into three French departments.

In the same year, at Presburg, on the 26th of December, 1805, after the great victory of Austerlitz,

Napoleon imposed a peace treaty on Austria and compelled the latter to forego her claim to Venice which thus became united to the kingdom of Italy, to the great joy of the Italians who flattered themselves that this step forwarded the unification of the entire peninsula.

Whilst this campaign had been in progress, the Neapolitan Court had joined in the coalition formed by England, Austria and Russia against France. Napoleon made this a pretext for sending an army to conquer Naples; called upon his soldiers to make an end of a *régime* which had "neither faith, honour nor good sense," and thenceforth proudly announced that the Neapolitan dynasty was "at an end." It was indeed an easily assured victory: the Bourbon family at once took refuge in Sicily, and Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, was proclaimed King of Naples on the 30th of March, 1806.

The year after, Napoleon inflicted another blow on the Bourbons by taking Tuscany from them and uniting it to the French empire.

The Emperor now caused his troops to occupy the sea-coast of the Papal States, and when the Pontiff protested and so made common cause with the enemies of France, Napoleon declared the temporal power of the Pope to be at an end (1809), united Rome and its adjoining territory to the French empire and amalgamated the Marches with the kingdom of Italy.¹ In his despatch to the French Senate, concerning necessary legislation after the above-

¹ Pius VII., having been made prisoner, was conducted to Savona and ultimately to Fontainebleau.

mentioned annexation, the Emperor wrote as follows :
“The decree that we submit to you will accomplish one of the most important political events of the great times in which we live. May the words : ‘policy of the Roman court’ be for ever abolished in European diplomacy ; may the narrow egoism of a prince who possesses a country without army, ports without ships, power without any means of enforcing it and neutrality without guarantee, disappear in the general prosperity of the Italian peninsula !”

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* *

At this epoch, the whole of the Italian peninsula depended, either directly or indirectly, on Napoleon. Piedmont, Liguria, Parma, Piacenza, Tuscany and Rome—that is to say, nearly a third of the country—had been annexed to the French empire. Although Piedmont, and also Liguria, by their proximity to, and affinity with France, had easily adapted themselves to French laws and institutions, it was far otherwise with those provinces which, unaccustomed to warlike exercises, only submitted with great discontent to the military conscription imposed on them by the conqueror.

Everywhere, however, was visible a great intellectual, social and material transformation. This was most of all evident in the so-called ‘kingdom of Italy,’ which comprised Lombardy, Venetia, Reggio, Modena, Romagna and the Marches, with a population of nearly seven million inhabitants. New roads were opened up, large canals constructed, splendid monuments erected, agriculture encouraged, and industry



ARCO DELLA PACE, MILAN.

Begun in 1804.

and commerce were developed, while art and learning were promoted in a thousand ways, and an excellent army was organised which won a new respect for the Italian name. "Of all the periods of servitude," writes the illustrious contemporary historian, Cesare Balbo, "not one was as happy, as active, perhaps as useful, none were nearly so great and glorious as this epoch. Less shame was there in serving, with half Europe, a man so powerful and illustrious—an Italian, moreover, by birth and race—in serving him, too, by actively furthering his mighty and incessantly increasing projects whose unforeseen results it might justly be hoped would tend to some great scheme of national reunion or liberation—less shame, I maintain, was there in such service, than in the languid and isolated slavery that had formerly been Italy's in the midst of independence, liberty and universal activity. . . . There was not actual independence, it is true, but there were at least the forms of it in a great Italian centre; there was not a well-guaranteed constitutional liberty, though a legal one existed, but there was that equality which indemnified so many, rightly or wrongly, for the absence of freedom. Certain it is, that from this time, the name of Italy was pronounced with increased love and honour."

French influence in the kingdom of Naples was minimised by the actual conditions of the country which differed so greatly from that of France: this may be accounted for, too, by the fact that the new *régime* was of shorter duration there and had, besides, to give its attention to defending itself not only against

the attempts which the Bourbons—still refugees in Sicily and backed up by England—made to recover their lost states, but also against the bands of brigands which infested Calabria. Joseph Bonaparte had no sooner begun to find his level in the new kingdom, than Napoleon, who transferred kings from one throne to another as if they had been so many *employés*, promoted him to the crown of Spain, sending his own brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, to Naples in Joseph's stead (1808). The new ruler succeeded in winning much popularity through his personal qualities, but he was more of a soldier than an administrator. At any rate, if he could not change the condition of the country, he introduced therein elements of a new life.



The Bourbon court had been strengthened in Sicily by the support of England, who had made of that island a centre for her warlike operations against the French. Notwithstanding, Queen Caroline resented English protection; she was, moreover, not popular with the Sicilians, either on account of the favour she showed to the Neapolitan emigrants or through the heavy expenses that the Court had incurred in carrying on the war. This opposition made itself felt in parliament and even the barons themselves refused to grant the required subsidies. The Court retaliated by ignoring the parliament, promulgating arbitrary decrees of taxation and causing five of the most recalcitrant nobles of the opposition to be arrested. But the English ambassador, Lord

William Bentinck, seeing that such a procedure would place the island at the mercy of the French invaders, brought pressure to bear upon the Bourbon government, which resulted in the immediate liberation of the five barons ; nay, he declared to the Queen that a constitution must be granted, uttering the famous formula : “ *Madame, constitution ou révolution.* ” The Palermo court, thus coerced by English pressure, took refuge in a compromise ; King Ferdinand, under the pretext of illness, made over the conduct of affairs to his son, Francis, conferring upon him the title of Vicar-General of the kingdom, January 16, 1812, and withdrew to his country retreat at Ficuzza.

The newly-ordained Prince-Vicar forthwith convoked parliament which immediately decreed a constitution—drawn up on the English model, with an Upper and a Lower House—and abolished feudal rights. Queen Caroline who was always setting on foot fresh machinations to oppose these new political tendencies and to shake off English interference, was obliged to leave Sicily in 1813 and return to Vienna where she died in September, 1814.



In the meantime, the fortunes of Napoleon were rapidly on the wane and he now saw himself forsaken by all his supporters. He had always exacted blind obedience, and this pronounced absolutism had alienated the devotion of his subjects. Many Italians, who were fully alive to the regenerating influences infused by the new *régime* into all branches of their social life, felt, none the less bitterly, the

galling yoke of the oppressor, and showed it even in their literary taste, by applauding the burning and indignant verses of Ugo Foscolo rather than the adulatory effusions of Vincenzo Monti. The disastrous Russian campaign had provoked a genuine reaction of hatred against the man who, to glut his own ambition, had sacrificed the lives of so many thousands of his soldiers. The Powers in league against the French Emperor helped to foment this feeling and, by giving a vague encouragement to the aspirations of Italian independence, easily succeeded in winning over to their side a great part of the population.

Austria now offered active menace to the kingdom of Italy; the Viceroy, Eugène, tried to defend himself, but was compelled to fall back upon the banks of the Adige. At the same time, Joachim Murat, who, to keep his throne intact, had engaged in secret treaties with Austria, advanced with an army from Naples in the direction of Upper Italy, without Eugène knowing whether he came as a friend or an enemy: the Viceroy himself was then compelled to retreat to the Mincio.

Meanwhile, the English occupied Leghorn, afterwards Genoa. Then it was that Italy received the news of the capitulation of Paris to the allied troops and of the abdication of Napoleon. Eugène, however, hoped to be able to keep Lombardy for himself and, to this end, suspended hostilities with a view to appeasing the Powers. But the greater part of the Milanese population, weary of French rule, were unfriendly to his design; some hoped to institute

a national government, others desired the return of the Austrians; therefore, when the senate of the kingdom, assembled at Milan, wished to send a deputation to the Powers to demonstrate their willingness to favour Eugène, an insurrection broke out in the city and Count Prina, minister of finance, was murdered by the mob, April 20, 1814. The Viceroy, out of pique, surrendered the fortress of Mantua to the Austrians and sought the protection of his father-in-law in Bavaria. A few days afterwards, the Austrians entered Milan, and thus fell that kingdom of Italy which had boasted of so many illustrious citizens in art, science and public life, and had formed the great centre of Italian life in that momentous period of history.

The former governments were now reinstated: Pius VII. who had already been liberated for some time past, re-entered Rome; the Grand Duke, Ferdinand III., took possession again of Tuscany; the duchies of Parma and Modena were re-established, whilst Victor Emmanuel I. of Savoy—who, in 1802, had succeeded his brother, Charles Emmanuel IV., in Sardinia—returned to Turin. Joachim Murat alone still preserved his kingdom of Naples.



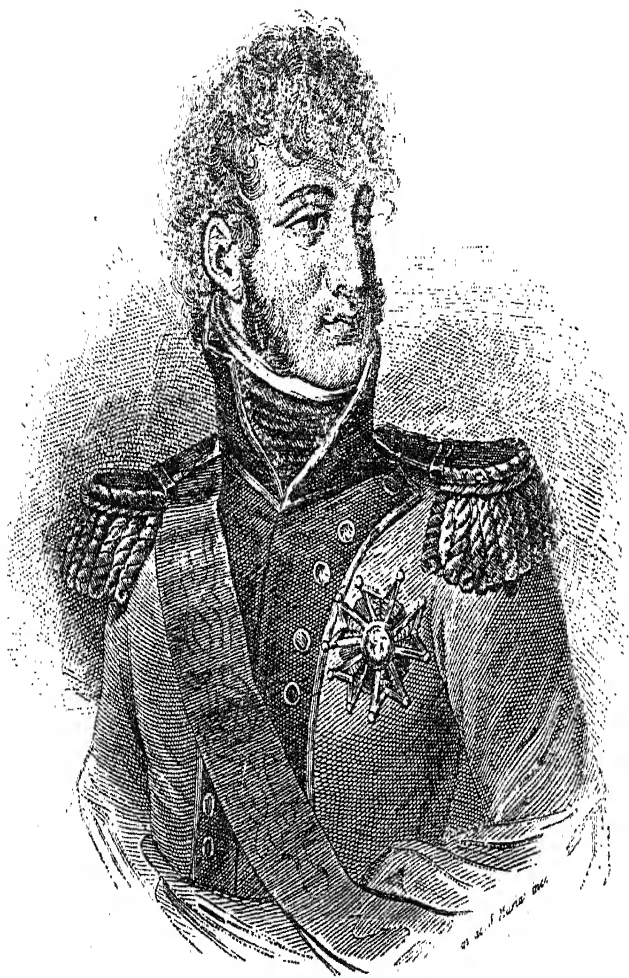
Napoleon had chosen as a place of exile the island of Elba, but it was generally felt to be impossible that a man, who had led so many enterprises and won so many battles, should willingly condemn himself to inertia. There were even Italians who dreamed of making it worth his while to reconstitute

their country's unity and on May 19, 1814, a message was sent to the exile from Turin, imploring the help of his name and sword and offering him, in exchange, the crown of Italy. Napoleon received the invitation graciously, but Paris, rather than Rome, was the goal at which he aimed. On the 26th of February, 1815, he left the island of Elba with a thousand soldiers and sailed for France, with the intention of reconquering the Empire. He disembarked in the Gulf of Jouan on the 1st of March and in twenty days, supported by the army—always enthusiastically devoted to its chief—repossessed himself of the throne and entered Paris amid the rejoicings of the people, to enjoy a brilliant but short-lived triumph of a hundred days.

The sovereigns of Europe, assembled in the spring of that year at the Congress of Vienna, now decided to put an end for good and all to the power of Napoleon; they accordingly proclaimed him "the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world," declared him to be "without the pale of civil and social relations," and at the same time, sent orders to their armies to march against France. On the 18th of June, 1815, on the plains of Waterloo, was fought the memorable battle which crowns the end of this epoch, so full of wars and discords; on that day, the heroes of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena and Wagram were completely routed by the English veterans of Wellington and the Prussian grenadiers of Blücher. The allied armies were thus enabled to march on Paris and establish Louis XVIII. on the French throne. Napoleon, having lost all hope,

surrendered to the English, by whom he was banished to the island of St. Helena.

The very day that the uncrowned Emperor arrived in sight of the rock where he was to drag out his last years, his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, after strange vicissitudes, was shot in Calabria. In 1814, by his treason towards Napoleon, the king of Naples had obtained permission from Austria to keep his states, but he soon had reason to doubt that such a concession would be long allowed and therefore had been reconciled to his brother-in-law, then in the island of Elba. When the Emperor embarked for France, Murat turned his arms against Austria, inviting the Italians to wage a war of independence. Very few, however, rallied to his standard; he advanced as far as Emilia, but hearing the Neapolitan coast was threatened by the English, beat a retreat. Routed by the Austrians near Macerata, he re-entered his own territories where the Bourbon party was again lifting its head. Desertions became daily more numerous in his army: at last he abdicated the throne on May 20, 1815, and the government of Ferdinand Bourbon was restored in the kingdom of Naples. Joachim Murat now repaired to France, though he dared not face Napoleon. After Waterloo, he thought of retiring to Corsica, the native country of so many of his followers. He meditated the reconquest of Naples from that island, and on the 28th of September, weighed anchor, with two hundred and fifty adherents, at Ajaccio, but a storm dispersed his little fleet. The vessel in which Joachim sailed arrived at Pizzo in Calabria, where he attempted, but



JOACHIM MURAT.

vainly, to excite a reaction in his own favour. Having been made prisoner a few days afterwards, in pursuance of orders sent from Naples, he was judged by a court-martial, condemned to death, and shot on the 13th of October, 1815, at the age of forty-eight.

IV

THE RESTORATION: OLD GOVERNMENTS AND NEW PEOPLES

IT was in the midst of the brilliant *fêtes* and splendours of the Congress of Vienna—in which the prime minister of Austria, Prince Metternich, then in the zenith of his career, had shone pre-eminent among his peers—that the re-adjustment of Italy was effected. The diplomatists in question had declared that such a re-adjustment ought to be based on the legitimist principle, that is to say that the former governments which the revolution had overthrown, ought to be restored. Such a maxim was applied to all Italy with the exception of the republics; consequently, Venice, Genoa and Lucca had no place in the new states. Venetia with Lombardy reverted to Austria, Genoa was annexed to the dominions of Savoy, whilst Lucca was assigned to the Bourbon dynasty of Parma, so long as this dukedom should be governed by Marie Louise—daughter of the Emperor Francis of Austria, and wife of Napoleon I.—who was to keep it during her lifetime. For the rest, the political conditions of 1789 were restored,

although by this arrangement the influence of Austria was augmented and she entered into possession of the richest, best fortified and—strategically—most valuable provinces in Italy; hence she could easily make her superior power felt throughout the peninsula, especially as members of the Austrian royal family reigned in Parma, Modena and Tuscany. Austrian influence, therefore, was substituted for French, and all its efforts were promptly devoted to cancelling every trace of revolution.

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For the better understanding of Italian life from 1815 to 1820, let us attentively consider each state individually, beginning with Piedmont. On the 20th of May, 1814, Turin, the ancient Piedmontese capital, after sixteen years of the French *régime*, welcomed back its Savoy rulers with true and unaffected enthusiasm. Massimo D'Azeglio, who was then sixteen years old and a member of the civil guard that was drawn up for the royal reception, describes his impressions in his *Ricordi*: "I found myself on parade in the Piazza Costello and very well recollect the group presented by the King and his staff. Dressed in the old-fashioned style, with powder, queue and Frederic II. hats, they must have looked quaint figures enough, but to me, as to all there, they appeared most magnificent and *comme il faut*. The oft-repeated cries of welcome that acclaimed this good prince must have assured him, beyond all possibility of doubt, of the affection and sympathy of his faithful Turinese." Thus did Pied-

mont joyously hail the end of the foreign yoke and receive King Victor Emmanuel I., the representative of that house which had always so carefully guarded the country's honour.

But discontent followed hard on such joy. The King and his courtiers imagined that, during the last twenty years, the good Piedmontese had, like themselves, been asleep, figuratively speaking, whilst in reality this space of time had meant for the people a century of progress. Victor Emmanuel said he regarded all that had happened in his absence as a "long dream," and thought he gave an ample proof of his generosity by drawing, as he said, a veil over the past. On his return to Piedmont, an old courtier had handed him the *Palma-verde* almanack for 1798, which contained the list of state *employés*. In the royal mania for returning to the old order, these officials were all replaced in their posts, without any one troubling to find out whether some of them might not have died in the interval. The same system was likewise applied to the army and involved the recall of many men who had not held commissions for years. Those who had served under Napoleon, if they wished to be re-admitted, had to lose one grade, whilst quite raw youths of aristocratic families were promoted to fill up the void thus created amongst the officers. D'Azeglio, thus raised to the rank of lieutenant, wrote in after times: "Ours was a curious method of forming a regiment! Those in command who had received their commissions in bygone years, had forgotten everything; we junior officers had, as yet,

learnt nothing, whilst our subordinates, the scouts and underlings—soldiers who had been trained in the first military school of the world and had their duties at their fingers' ends—laughed at us in their sleeves in our presence and openly in our absence."

Thus the Piedmontese government, very far from making concessions to progress, aimed at a slavish reconstruction of the past that was to affect both men and things. At one stroke, Piedmont was transplanted back into the middle of the eighteenth century and all the privileges of the nobility and clergy were restored. This return to the ancient *régime* displeased many people, more especially the educated classes of the country, who, unable to avail themselves of any official remedy, leagued themselves together in secret societies.

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Factions were also multiplying in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces where the disappearance of the kingdom of Italy had not caused the memories of that glorious epoch to be forgotten. Austria had, it is true, always increased the material welfare of the subject provinces, but this was no longer enough. Although before the French revolution, the people of Lombardy had gladly approved the government of Maria Theresa and Joseph II., they failed to do so after the formation of a kingdom of Italy had once awakened the idea of nationality in men's minds. A serious change had been wrought in the conscience of the masses, and Federico Confalonieri could justly

say: "We can no longer be the people of twenty years ago unless we renounce habits and sentiments already deeply-rooted in a nation full of energy, genius and passions, which has acquired during this time wider political experience, deeper patriotism and increased military aptitude." In spite of all this, the Austrian Emperor had declared to Venetia and Lombardy: "You belong to me by right of conquest and ought to forget you are Italian"—a foolish dictum, which only served the better to remind the vanquished that they were Italians and that they must prove themselves worthy of the name. An opposition to the government, therefore, now began to show itself among the most cultured and intelligent classes; secret societies were formed, and to cope with them, a terrible police system was organised, which ever developed its menacing proportions and ultimately became the single prop of Austrian dominion in Italy.

Whilst the Vienna cabinet aimed at keeping these provinces enslaved by means of an armed surveillance, some cultivated and hard-working citizens of Milan proposed to spread liberal ideas among the people and to diffuse a knowledge of the conquests of modern thought. To this end—having been unsuccessful in their request for permission to open popular schools—they started a paper, *Il Conciliatore*, devoted to literary and social as well as to political ends. Among its contributors were Confalonieri, G. D. Romagnosi, Silvio Pellico, Giovanni Rasori, Filippo Ugoni, Giovanni Berchet and many others whom exile and martyrdom were to render illustrious in the

annals of Italian independence. Austria was not slow to suspect the existence of this liberal propaganda ; in October, 1819, the *Conciliatore* was suppressed, and in the October of the following year, Pellico, Gioia, Romagnosi, Maroncelli and Arrivabene were arrested and a long series of political prosecutions was set on foot.



Austria domineered likewise in the duchy of Parma and Piacenza. On the fall of Napoleon, Francis of Austria, desiring a suitable possession for his daughter, Marie Louise, wife of the fallen Emperor, had assigned to her Parma and Piacenza. Although the empress enjoyed the honours accruing to her position, the real ruling power was Austria, represented by a garrison at Piacenza. Thus, whilst the Austrian marshal, Neipperg, was endeavouring to make Marie Louise forget her exiled consort at St. Helena, the cabinet of Vienna was dictating laws to the province and hindering the development of every liberal and Italian tendency. Nor did things alter when the Duchess changed her lovers.

Worse still was the condition of affairs in the neighbouring dukedom of Modena and Reggio, which had been made over to Francis IV., Archduke of Austria, son of Marie Beatrice, the last representative of the house of Este. He was both clever and ambitious, but so imbued with despotic notions and contempt for his fellow men, that he was quite unscrupulous in the means he pursued to gain his end ; moreover, he was in league with the Jesuits

and was remorseless in his pursuit of the leaders of political innovations.



A happier state of things prevailed in the pleasant province of Tuscany. There, even before the French revolution, the house of Lorraine had introduced many reforms; it had abolished the Inquisition, torture, the death penalty, and had ameliorated every phase of civic life. When the long-hoped-for return of the Grand Duke, Ferdinand III., to his duchy, took place in 1815, he immediately restored the lenient rule of his predecessors—a rule that seemed fitly to correspond with the placid temperament of the inhabitants of that particular region of Italy. A worthy representative of such a government was the prime minister, Count Fossombroni, an easy-going man who had such confidence in time and chance that he used to say: *Il mondo va da sè* ("The world goes by itself"). Under such a *régime*, the Tuscan people grew enfeebled and lethargic, although the tolerant sway they enjoyed seemed like genuine liberty, in comparison with the absolutism of the other Italian states.



The two worst administrations in Italy were those of the States of the Church and the kingdom of Naples. In the former, the Pope, on resuming his temporal power, had re-established a truly mediæval government wherein the Inquisition and the order of the Jesuits were both revived. French legislation was abolished and the old obscure and confused laws

were restored in its stead. The complete exclusion of the laity from offices in the state was assumed as the invariable basis of such a *régime* as was now instituted. Pius VII. and Cardinal Consalvi, his minister, were, it is true, full of good intentions, but they were irresistibly influenced by the reactionary *milieu* in which they lived.

By the death of Joachim Murat, Ferdinand Bourbon had felt his position assured on his re-acquired throne of Naples and, like the other princes of the peninsula, he also cherished hopes of rebuilding the fabric of the past. Everything favourable to the royal prerogative in the French code was not only preserved at Naples, but was likewise applied to Sicily; all the rest was abolished. The constitution granted to Sicily in 1812 was quickly consigned to oblivion; the parliament was no longer convoked, and the Bourbon monarch assumed the title of 'Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies,' abandoning the titles of 'Ferdinand IV. of Naples' and 'Ferdinand III. of Sicily,' in use up till that time.¹ It was no mere alteration of name; this re-union of the two crowns into one kingdom signified the destruction of Sicilian independence and completely discounted any difference of treatment of the countries on either side of the Faro.

By reason of its geographical position, the kingdom

¹ To understand this newly adopted title we must revert to the revolution of 'the Vespers' (1282), which separated Sicily from Naples; in spite of this, however, the Angevin rulers of the latter kingdom had still wished to incorporate in their title the idea of Sicilian sovereignty. When, later (1442), Alfonso of Arragon re-united both kingdoms, the term 'Two Sicilies' came officially into use.

of the Two Sicilies might have been considered as properly independent of the Austrian pretensions that were advanced elsewhere in Italy, all the more so, since England was secretly seeking to counter-balance the power of Austria. Notwithstanding, the King of Naples remained the humble servant of the Vienna cabinet.

* * *

It was Austria's aim to keep a strict watch over Italy, and make the rebel beauty resume her interrupted slumber. In this work, however, she was not alone, but was able to count on the support of Russia and Prussia with whom she had organised the so-called Holy Alliance. Although this agreement between the three sovereign Powers concluded with high-sounding words of peace and justice and was cloaked under the guise of religion, it was in reality a league against the so-hated liberalism. The populations who had lived for five and twenty years under the influence of French revolutionary ideas were necessarily eager for innovations, and it was against such aspirations as these that the Holy Alliance was directed.

It was desired that men's minds should lie in the same dormant quiescence as they had done before the revolution, as if indeed it had been possible to stifle human thought. But, in spite of reactionary efforts, the old world was bursting its swaddling-bands and even in its outward life, signs of such a struggle were already manifest. All was changed in modes of thought, manners and customs ; differences between

citizens were disappearing ; the fusion of the classes was perceptible even in the fashion of dress. The abolition of privileges proclaimed by the Napoleonic code and other liberal ideas which had made strides during its *régime*, had been the means of planting the germ of revolution in the heart of Italy, and henceforth the seed was to grow and prosper there.

V

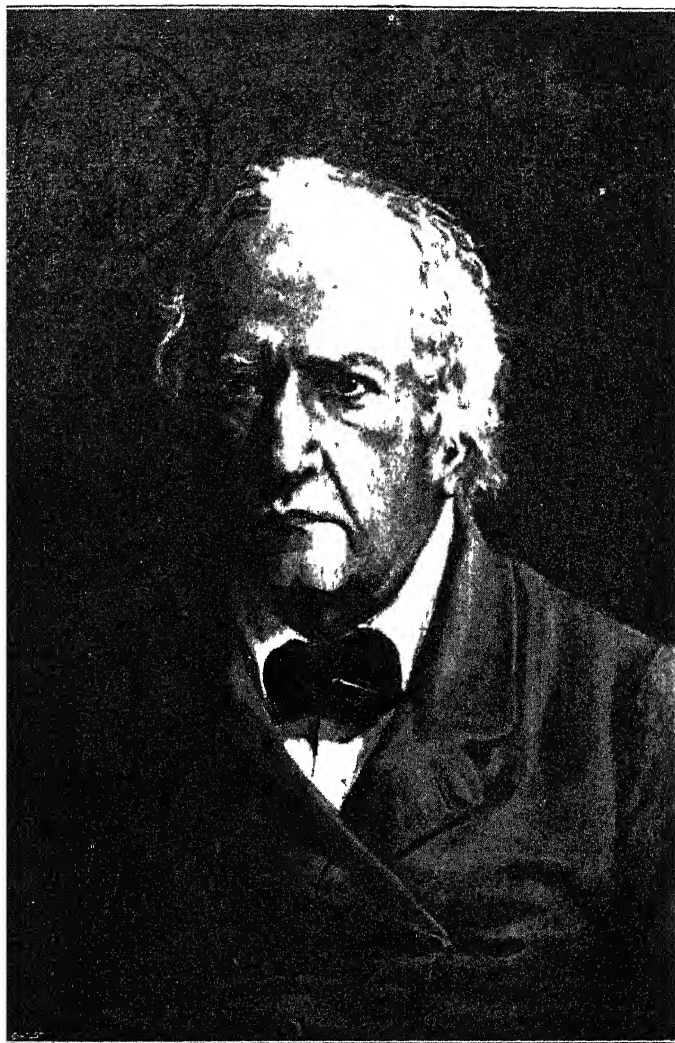
REVOLUTIONARY BEGINNINGS

THE secret society most widely diffused in Italy was that of the *Carbonari*. It had originated in the Neapolitan States in the first years of the century and had struck root there during the French dominion to such an extent, that it had even intimidated Joachim Murat himself. On the return of the Bourbons, Carbonarism spread throughout the whole kingdom—and indeed beyond it—uniting all the disaffected in a common grievance. Malcontents were very numerous in the army which resented the neglect of the Bourbon government: consequently the *Carbonari* found many adherents in its ranks. And further to inflame men's minds, there now came the news of revolution triumphant in Spain, a country which was associated with Naples by many memories and affinities. Then it was that the instigators of the Italian movement decided to act.

On the 2nd of July, 1820, two sub-lieutenants, Morelli and Silvati, with one hundred and twenty-seven men, including sergeants and mounted soldiers, proceeded from the Nola quarter, flaunting the

black, red and blue tricoloured banner of the *Carbonari* to the cry of, "For God, King, and Constitution." From Nola, the insurgents, accompanied by the priest, Menichini, as well as other members of the league, made their way to Avellino where the governor, after some hesitation, joined their ranks; thence they moved towards the capital, whilst several provinces declared themselves in favour of the insurrectionary movement. Meanwhile, deliberation was the only resource of the terrified and vacillating ministers and this very irresolution furnished the constitutionalists with their opportunity. On the night of the 5-6th of July, General Guglielmo Pepe, dreading arrest on account of his liberal opinions, left Naples and placed himself at the head of the insurgents.

King Ferdinand then found himself compelled to promise a constitution but, under pretence of illness, entrusted his son, Francis—with the title of Vicar—with the management of affairs. The farce played out in Sicily in 1812 was then re-enacted, but the Neapolitan population who distrusted the word of a Bourbon, insisted on the constitution being then and there conceded, and since the Spanish one was already drawn up—to which King Ferdinand, as *Infante* of Spain, had been obliged to take a solemn oath of allegiance—they exacted its adoption and demanded that not only the Vicar, but that the King himself, should swear to it. Thus it was that the aged Ferdinand was seen with his hand on the Gospels, invoking the wrath of heaven should he ever be tempted to break his oath.



GABRIELE ROSSETTI.

It was at this time that the poet, Gabriele Rossetti (born at Vasto in the Abruzzi in 1783, died in London, 1854), hailed the dawn of Neapolitan liberty in a poem which became very popular :—

“Sei pur bella cogli astri sul crine
 Che scintillan quai vivi zaffiri,
 È pur dolce quel fiato che spira
 Porporina foriera del dì.
 Col sorriso del pago desio
 Tu ci annunzi dal balzo vicino
 Che d'Italia nell' almo giardino
 Il servaggio per sempre finì.”

(Thou art fair with the stars that are wreathing
 With sapphire-like brightness thy hair,
 And fragrantly sweet is thy breathing,
 Of day thou'rt the harbinger fair !
 And thou from thy rock smil'st victorious,
 As the message to men thou dost send :
 'In the garden of Italy glorious
 Is servitude aye at an end !')

Patriotism and intellectual activity alike awoke, and for some time it seemed as if Naples had been aroused from her long lethargy. All too soon, however, she encountered a serious misfortune in the separatist movement which had been set on foot in Sicily. Up till 1815, this island had enjoyed political privileges of its own and the ancient constitution which it had succeeded in keeping intact through so many reverses of administration, had been even more fully developed in 1812, through an agitation promoted by English influence.¹ But when

¹ See Chap. III.

the Bourbon court—compelled to retire to Sicily during the Napoleonic period—re-occupied Naples, it soon consigned the Sicilian constitution to oblivion. The island became a Neapolitan province and was duly exploited by Neapolitan officials, thus foiling the aspiration which had taken root in the Sicilian mind of re-possessioning its ancient constitution and of separating from Naples. It was for this that, on receiving the news of the revolution on the mainland, the men of Palermo were fired to supplement the cry of "Long live the Constitution!" by that of "Independence for ever!" The Bourbon troops were expelled from the city and the example set by Palermo was soon followed by the province of Girgenti. The other five provinces of the island, however, remained loyal to the Neapolitan government. General Florestano Pepe was despatched to suppress the insurrection, but as he was inclined to grant too easy terms, General Pietro Colletta—afterwards to become famous for his *Storia del Reame di Napoli*—was sent to supplant him and succeeded, by the employment of more severity, in quelling the insurrection and in persuading the inhabitants to nominate deputies for the parliament which had already assembled at Naples.

Hardly had the danger from within been averted, than a much more serious one threatened the Neapolitan kingdom from without; she learned, to her consternation, that the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia, intimidated by the spread of constitutional ideas throughout Europe, now intended putting down by force her so-far success-

ful revolution. It is to this external peril that Rossetti alludes in his verses :—

“Cittadini, possiamo sicuri
 Sotto l'ombra dei lauri mietuti,
 Ma coi pugni sui brandi temuti
 Stiamo in guardia del patrio terren . . .
 Che guardate, gelosi stranieri?
 Non uscite dai vostri burroni,
 Chè la stirpe dei prischi leoni
 Più nel sonno languente non è.
 Adorate le vostre catene ;
 Chi v'invidia cotanto tesoro?
 Ma lasciate tranquilli coloro
 Che disdegnan sentirse al piè.”

(O friends, let us rest in the shade
 Of the laurels we reaped in the past,
 But still in our hands hold we fast
 The swords that our guards we have made . . .
 Ye strangers, why jealous watch keep?
 Approach not, approach not our place
 And vex not the old lions' race—
 The race that no longer doth sleep.
 But yet hug your chains, if ye will,
 No envy have we of your gain,
 But leave those alone who disdain
 To feel the old fetters gall still.)

King Ferdinand, on his part, secretly hastened to apprise the three monarchs that he desired nothing better than the re-establishment of despotism. Hence he received from them an invitation to attend the Congress which was shortly to be held at Leybach. But in accordance with a constitutional decree, the King could not leave the country without the consent of parliament ; he therefore addressed a letter to the latter—a colossal proof of his

perfidy—averring that he desired to go and defend the constitution before the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance and promising that if he were unsuccessful in justifying his people's cause in their hearing, he would return to Naples in time to defend it at the head of his army. Parliament granted him the necessary permission, and Ferdinand started for the Congress, leaving the government in the hands of his son, Francis.

At Leybach, the fate of Naples was decided. The Holy Alliance, after protesting that it was its prerogative and duty to guard the peace of Europe and that the condition of the Two Sicilies threatened the safety of existing governments, sent an Austrian army to Naples to re-establish order, and King Ferdinand wrote to his subjects, bidding them give his devoted allies a friendly reception. The Neapolitan parliament, though already disillusioned, declared that the King's decision, made under pressure from the allied rulers, was invalid, and accordingly resolved to act on the defensive. The Vicar, Francis, persisting in his deceitful *rôle*, for which indeed his father had given him the cue, posed as a most zealous supporter of the country's defence.

But there were no means of resisting an invasion. General Guglielmo Pepe, at the head of an army, which was alike good-for-nothing and undisciplined, attacked the Austrians at Rieti, March 7, 1821, but was defeated, whilst the disbanding of the best part of his troops spread discouragement throughout the province. Thus the Austrian forces were

enabled to advance on Naples unopposed and not another blow was struck in the latter's defence. Many of the liberals fled or sought safety in concealment. On the 19th of March, twenty-six deputies met in the parliamentary chamber and signed an energetic protest, drawn up by the lawyer, Giuseppe Poerio, one of their most distinguished orators. It contained these words: "Chosen by electoral suffrage, we received our orders, in accordance with the form duly prescribed by the King. We have discharged our functions conformably to our power, to the Sovereign's oath and our own. But the presence of a foreign army in the kingdom obliges us to suspend the exercise of those functions. . . . Whilst proclaiming this unfortunate circumstance, we protest against the violation of the rights of the people . . . and we place the cause of the throne and of national independence in the hands of that God who directs the destinies of rulers and nations alike."

This was the last session of the Neapolitan parliament. On the 23rd of March, the Austrian troops entered Naples and re-established absolutism, whilst all opposition was quickly stifled in the provinces. Before re-entering his states, King Ferdinand went to hang a gold and silver sanctuary lamp in the Church of the Annunziata at Florence—in bitter mockery of expiation for his perjury.

* * *

Whilst Bourbon false-dealing was destroying constitutional government in the Neapolitan and Sicilian kingdoms, a revolution broke out at the other end

of the peninsula, in Piedmont. Even among the latter's level-headed and sober-minded people, Carbonarism had always found many adherents, especially in the ranks of the army. The Piedmontese *Carbonari* had set themselves the task of weaning Victor Emmanuel I. from the reactionary notions of his courtiers, by persuading him to grant a constitution and urging him to war against Austria; in this they reckoned on the support of a prince of the blood-royal, in the person of Charles Albert of Carignan who, in view of the fact that Victor Emmanuel had no male issue and that his brother Charles Felix was childless, was heir-presumptive to the throne.

Charles Albert, educated in Paris, under Napoleonic influences, had returned in 1814 (at that time barely sixteen years old) to Piedmont. Inspired with ideas imbibed in the French capital, he had disapproved of the kingdom's return to an eighteenth-century *régime* and, being of an open and vivacious disposition, had not disguised his opinions. Hence he acquired a reputation for liberalism and, at the same time, great popularity in Turin; he was even credited with being a member of the *Carbonari* and was certainly the intimate friend of such leaders of the revolutionary party among the *haute noblesse* of Piedmont, as the Marquis of San Marzano, Count Provana di Collegno, Count Moffa di Lisio and others. Highly impressionable by temperament, Charles Albert was easily swayed by the ardent enthusiasm of those surrounding him; he also cherished the noble ambition of being the destined redeemer of Italy and

perhaps in his relations with the *Carbonari*, let himself foster such an idea to an unreasonable extent.

The Piedmontese conspirators had planned their rising to take place at the moment when the Austrian army should be distracted by the Neapolitan constitutionalists; thus victory would have more fully favoured the liberals at either end of the peninsula, but they had counted, doubtless, on a stronger resistance being offered in Naples. On the 11th of March, 1821, before the news of the disaster at Rieti had reached Piedmont, the garrison of Alessandria raised the Italian tricolour, at the same time declaring for the Spanish constitution and war with Austria—an example followed two days later by the Turin garrison—all to the cry of "God save the King!"

However, Victor Emmanuel I., not wishing to break the promise he had given to Austria, of withholding a constitution from his subjects, and naturally averse, by reason of his kindly and gentle disposition, to shed the blood of his subjects in a fratricidal struggle, abdicated on the 13th of March, in favour of his brother, Charles Felix. The latter being then at the court of Modena, nominated Charles Albert as regent of the kingdom for the time being. Thus promoted, the young prince, urged by his friends and encouraged by the progress of the revolution, proclaimed the Spanish constitution at Turin. Before three days had passed, a decree arrived from Charles Felix, still at Modena, by which he declared the proclamation made without his consent to be null and void, ordered the re-establishment of an absolute

government and insisted on Charles Albert quitting the capital.

The position in which the young Regent now found himself was indeed a painful one: the liberal party were desirous of dragging him into flat rebellion against Charles Felix, but he regarded the perpe-



SANTORRE DI SANTAROSA.

tration of such an act as treason against the chief representative of his family. Besides, all hope of success had now vanished; Austria, victorious in the kingdom of Naples, was even then mobilising another army on the Ticino against Piedmont, and active revolt would have meant the ruin of himself and his

future, as well as of his friends. If Charles Albert had been unwise in letting himself be carried away by the revolutionary current, he was equally so in his method of extricating himself from its vortex. He left Turin furtively by night—an act which gave colour to the accusation of treason so freely hurled at him by the liberals. But the latter were deceived: the unhappy prince had sinned through vacillation, not through treason, and the sequel proved such to have been the case. Charles Felix refused to receive him at Modena: only at Florence did he find a welcome from his father-in-law, the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Meanwhile, the sudden departure of the Regent had spread trouble and disorder among the revolutionary partisans. At this difficult juncture, Count Santorre Di Santarosa, one of the noblest figures of the Italian *Risorgimento*, assumed direction of the government. But the absolute party, rejoicing in the King's support, maintained a bold front, and General De La Tour set up the royal standard at Novara, inviting all the troops devoted to Charles Felix, to rally thereto. The small revolutionary force, making their way to Lombardy, met De La Tour's soldiers below Novara (8th of April, 1821), when the latter, aided by a corps of Austrian troops—who had passed the Ticino—forced the constitutionalists to beat a retreat. The Piedmontese revolution can thus be said to have been all over in a month: its now scattered and fugitive partisans repaired to Genoa and from thence into exile.

“One Sunday in April, 1821, when I was a boy,”

writes Giuseppe Mazzini, "I was walking along the Strada Nuova in Genoa with my mother and an old friend of the family. The Piedmontese insurrection was at an end ; treason, the incapacity of its leaders, as well as Austrian interference, had been the main factors in its failure. The insurgents flocked to Genoa in order to further their escape by sea ; they were in an impoverished condition and in search of pecuniary aid to pay their way to Spain where revolution reigned triumphant. Most of them were confined in San Pier d'Arena, awaiting a chance of embarking, but many made their way into the city, and I singled them out from amongst the natives, by the fashion of their dress, their military air and still more, by the deep and settled melancholy of their aspect. The population was strangely excited : some of the more enthusiastic spirits had proposed to the chiefs of the movement—like Santarosa and Ansaldi—to band themselves together, take possession of the city and organise a resistance, but it was said that the town was destitute of all military defence, that the forts were lacking in artillery and that the leaders refused this offer with the answer : 'Reserve yourselves for better things.' There was nothing else to be done, therefore, but to provide these noble-hearted but poverty-stricken precursors of freedom with money and this the citizens did with great liberality. One powerful-looking bronzed and bearded man, with a stern face and flashing eye, whom I have never forgotten, suddenly stopped and accosted us ; he held out a white pocket-handkerchief, simply saying, 'For the proscribed Italians.' My mother and

her companion dropped some money into the kerchief and he left us to beg of other passers-by. I found later that his name was Rini and that he was a captain of the national guard which had been formed at the commencement of the revolutionary movement. He left with the men for whom his alms had been collected and died, I believe, fighting, like so many others of our countrymen, for the liberty of Spain. This was the first occasion on which there arose a confused idea in my mind—I do not say of patriotism and liberty, but rather a dim perception that one ought to fight if one could for country and freedom."



The revolutions in Naples and Piedmont had both been defective in their origin; they had not been spontaneous, popular risings, but rather purely military seditions which the mob had applauded, without taking therein an active part; they had not either been simultaneous, for the constitution had already been annulled in the Neapolitan States when it was proclaimed in Piedmont. Now the rulers, under the powerful protection of Austria, were enabled to think about wreaking vengeance on their conquered foes.

In Piedmont nearly all those compromised had been enabled to take refuge in flight and had devoted their arms to the constitutional cause in Spain or to the struggle for Greek independence—among the latter was Santorre Di Santarosa who died a hero's death fighting in the island of Sphacteria, in 1825. Two

Piedmontese alone mounted the scaffold, Captain Garelli and the sub-lieutenant, Laneri. Not till Charles Felix had, by these examples, as he thought, secured order in his states, did he betake himself to Turin (October, 1821), to favour his people with his august presence.

But far worse than the Piedmontese monarch—who for that matter was quite a new phenomenon in the House of Savoy—was King Ferdinand I. Before entering his Neapolitan States, he despatched thither Canosa, the famous minister of police, who, by imprisonments and executions, sought to reduce the kingdom to order. Among those who paid the death penalty were the two sub-lieutenants, Morelli and Silvati, who had been the first to raise the cry of liberty at Nola. Absolutism reappeared; corruption established its reign once more; the courtiers resumed their intrigues, and a worse government than ever was set up and supported by the Austrian troops whom the Neapolitans were obliged to maintain in their midst.

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And now it was Austria's turn to avenge herself on the Lombardo-Venetian States. On the evening of December 31, 1821, Count Federico Confalonieri and his beautiful wife, the Countess Teresa, were discussing the late arrests as they sat alone in an apartment of their palace in Milan; the Countess was persuading her husband to seek refuge in flight and was reminding him for the hundredth time, how, a few evenings before, at the theatre of

La Scala, the Austrian marshal, Bubna, had said to her: "Why does not Count Federico go into the country? I think the fresh air would do him a great deal of good." During this conversation, a commissary of police, followed by several officials, suddenly entered the room, averring, they were there simply for the purpose of making a perquisition. But Count Federico understood that the fatal hour had come; having asked permission to change his dress, he entered his study wherein he had recently caused a secret staircase, leading to a dormer-window, to be constructed, but the noise made in opening the small door of this passage, aroused the suspicions of the agents-of-police, who were at once on his track. In a trice he reached the head of the staircase, quickly shut behind him the heavy trap-door which closed it, and rushed to unfasten the window which remained open every evening. A curse upon it! The window was closed and it was impossible to undo it! Whilst he vainly rattled at the bar, the trap-door was raised and his pursuers were upon him, and Confalonieri, giving his wife a last embrace, was led away to prison.

Gaetano Castillia, Giorgio Pallavicino, Borsieri, Tonelli and many other Lombardo-Venetian subjects, each accused of secret complicity with the Piedmontese revolutionists, had all been previously arrested. Only in 1824 was their fate decided; Confalonieri and several more were condemned to death, but afterwards, being reprieved, were sent to languish in the fortress of Spielberg where Pellico, Maroncelli and others, condemned to imprisonment in past years, still pined in captivity.

In such a way was the gulf between the Austrian government and the Lombardo-Venetian populations ever widened, nor was the Emperor Francis the man to have bridged it over. He kept the plan of those prisons in his own cabinet and personally augmented or diminished the punishments of his captives. His special permit had to be obtained for Piero Maroncelli to have his leg amputated, after long months of intense suffering ; his consent had to be procured for Costantino Munari to wear a peruke ; indeed it was the Emperor who caused a pillow to be removed from under the head of Confalonieri, which had been made by poor Countess Teresa's own hands.



The example of Austria was imitated and even surpassed, by the Italian rulers themselves ; for where there had been no open manifestation of rebellion, the governments, full of dread and suspicion, resorted to arrests. Francis IV. of Modena distinguished himself among the Italian princes by his exceptional brutality. In his own small state there were no less than a hundred arrested who, bound in threes, were conducted to the Castle of Rubiera, and there one of their number, a young priest, Giuseppe Andreoli, was executed before the eyes of his companions who were placed at the windows of the prison on purpose to witness the spectacle.

The Duke of Modena then sought to ingratiate himself with Austria, by procuring the latter's support to a scheme for excluding Charles Albert from the

Sardinian throne to which he himself aspired by virtue of his marriage with the eldest daughter of Victor Emmanuel I. Francis IV., thinking to turn to his own advantage the aversion that Charles Felix, after the affair of 1821, had entertained towards Charles Albert, flattered himself that he could bring about the abolition of the Salic law in Piedmont. But the opposition of France who distrusted the presence of an Austrian archduke on her frontier, as well as the unwillingness of Charles Felix to deprive the House of Savoy of its temporal rights, rendered the design of the Modenese ruler abortive.

* * *

Charles Albert now found himself obliged to give a genuine proof of his devotion to the Holy Alliance. The latter, after having suppressed the Italian revolution, aimed at destroying the constitution in Spain. For this purpose, a great congress was convened at Verona, in October, 1822, at which the Emperor of Austria, the Czar of Russia, the King of Prussia and the leading Italian rulers, with a crowd of ambassadors and courtiers, were present. There, what time they listened to Rossini's operas, applauded Catalani's singing or assisted at gorgeous spectacles in the arena, the members of the Congress occupied themselves with political affairs. Charles Felix, jealous of his own independence, obtained a concession for the Austrian troops who had entered Piedmont in 1821, to leave that province. Not so Ferdinand I. of Naples who had only too much need of such a prop to keep him on his throne; nay, when the various

Powers, mistrustful of the predominance of Austria, wished to reduce the number of the fifty thousand Austrian soldiers in the kingdom of Naples to thirty thousand, its ruler proposed enlisting mercenaries to fill up the gap thus left in the ranks.

But the most important step taken at the Congress was the commission given to France to demolish constitutional government in Spain, and Charles Albert was actually obliged to enrol himself in the French army sent thither, and help destroy that constitution which he had himself promulgated in Piedmont the year before. He had, moreover, to fight those Spanish patriots whose bands had been swelled by some of the Piedmontese exiles themselves: surely his was a terribly severe punishment! As befitted his valiant descent, the Sardinian Prince distinguished himself by characteristic bravery and in the attack on the Trocadero, well deserved from the men he commanded, the title of 'first among French grenadiers.' It was an honourable distinction, if little calculated to please the Italian liberals, but many years were yet to pass ere his compatriots could hail him by a more glorious title—that of 'the magnanimous King.'

VI

TEN YEARS OF REACTION

THE period between 1821 and 1831 was indeed an unhappy one for Italy. Under the shadow of Austrian protection, the various rulers continued their persecution of the constitutional party; the Jesuit teaching authorities were still enervating the Italian character, whilst spies and executioners were employed to uproot the 'poisonous plant' of liberalism. Well might Italy in those days find her interpreter in that most pessimistic of poets—Giacomo Leopardi.

Many were the obstacles that hindered the development of the sacred principles of freedom and patriotism! Not only was there no liberty of the press, but any patriotic allusion, however remote, provoked the most brutal condemnation. In an air, in the opera of *Puritani*, the theatrical censor went so far as to cancel the word *libertà* (liberty) and substitute for it the word *lealtà* (loyalty). *Apropos* of this fact, Giovanni Ruffini relates a curious occurrence which took place at Genoa. Signor Ronconi, the famous baritone and a great public favourite, having, in the ardour of his rôle, forgotten the above-

mentioned emendation, was imprisoned for three days in order to refresh his memory. Not long after, singing the line in the *Elisir d'Amore*, describing how a peasant enlisted: "*Vendè la libertà, si fè soldato*" ("He sold his liberty to be a soldier"), he, waggishly, altered it to, "*Vendè la lealtà, si fè soldato*" ("He sold his loyalty to be a soldier"). This variation in the text was received with lively applause by the public who always warmly welcomed anything that savoured of political opposition. The next day, the poor singer was summoned by the head of the police to receive a reprimand for having said that "loyalty could be sold," to which Ronconi replied by observing that, a few days before, he had been taught in a way he was not likely to forget, that *lealtà* ought always to be substituted for *libertà*. The affair had no further serious consequences, but it provided all Genoa with a laugh at the expense of the government.

One great impediment to the diffusion of ideas arose from the difficulty of communication, further aggravated by the numerous customs duties, so that the number of books from one end of the peninsula to the other was but small. Indeed the only state in which a little intellectual life still survived was Tuscany, where Leopold II., who had ascended the throne in 1824, appeared desirous of continuing the placid *régime* of his father, Ferdinand III. and of his grandfather, Peter Leopold I. Consequently this province attracted many liberals and emigrants from other parts of Italy. For some years past, Gian Pietro Vieusseux, a Genevese, had opened a reading-room in Florence and afterwards founded the *Antologia* which,

during the twelve years of its existence, represented all that was best in Italian life and thought.

Very different was the condition of the Neapolitan States. Ferdinand I., the perjured monarch of 1821, had been succeeded in 1825, by his son, Francis I., at once a most bigoted and dissolute man who scrupulously fulfilled the most superstitious practices of devotion, only to abandon himself to the most scandalous orgies. Under his venal rule, justice, honours and the highest offices of the state were alike shamelessly sold, and the King positively used to make a joke of the traffic which his chamberlain, Viglia, carried on therein. It can be easily understood how such a *régime* tended more and more to deprave the minds of his subjects.

Francis I. possessed the distinctive characteristic of his race—cowardice—in its highest degree; hence his police force was augmented and espionage became one of the chief institutions in the state. It was against this despotic government that the inhabitants of Cilento—a mountainous region in the province of Salerno—rebelled in the summer of 1828. The King despatched thither his minister, Del Carretto who put down the rising with barbarous cruelty. The heads of those who had been executed were carried in iron cages from one village to another and exposed to view opposite the houses where dwelt the mothers, wives and children of the victims.

In 1830, the news of the French Revolution, which drove the chief scion of the house of Bourbon from the throne, fully intimidated Francis I.; besides, the remembrance of his past haunted his mind with

terrible vividness, and thus tormented by horrible phantoms and torn by remorse, he died on the 8th of November of that year, leaving behind him a memory universally execrated.

Nor had the Neapolitans reason to envy their neighbours in the Papal States. Pius VII. died in 1823, and was succeeded in the pontifical office by Cardinal Della Genga, who assumed the title of Leo XII. As he owed his promotion to the reactionary party, he was an intransigent enemy of all free thought. Whilst brigands infested the country, the police only thought of capturing the liberals, who were arrested in such numbers that the prisons were absolutely crammed with victims. The province was literally overrun by police constables and executioners, especially the district of Romagna which writhed even more than the rest under this miserable yoke. Cardinal Rivarola, sent to pacify the country, only showed the most rigorous severity in his treatment of the people. Nor did matters mend with the death of Leo XII. in 1829, for Pius VIII., who succeeded him, pursued a like policy.

In short, reaction was now rampant throughout the peninsula. But imprisonments and executions, if they are successful in retarding the march of ideas, will ever be impotent in stopping it altogether. Therefore, in spite of persecutions, a strong nucleus of patriots continued to labour for the great work of Italian redemption.

The French Revolution of 1830 naturally found an

echo in Italy, but it came neither from Piedmont nor Naples, the two kingdoms which had raised the constitutional standard in 1820-21. In both states most of the liberals were in prison or in exile ; moreover the arrest of the advocate, Angelo Brofferio, and the brothers Durando, hindered the outbreak of the Piedmontese conspiracy that was being hatched, whilst in the Neapolitan kingdom, Ferdinand II., who had just ascended the throne, was holding out hopes of a prompt amelioration of affairs. Hence the flame of revolution was this time kindled and fed in Central Italy.

For some time past, certain Italian liberals had been in communication with an association founded in Paris, for the purpose of promulgating revolutionary ideas throughout Europe and effecting the formation of a league of constitutional states against the alliance of absolutist powers ; its members included Lafayette, the Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe and others. These secret negotiations were well known to Francis IV., the petty tyrant of Modena, who since the reconciliation of Charles Felix with Charles Albert had now lost all hope of succession to the throne of Savoy. Urged by his unbridled ambition, Francis determined to profit by this liberal league, and wormed himself into the ranks of the conspirators by establishing private communications with *Ciro Menotti*, a rich manufacturer of Modena, who was one of the local leaders of the movement. The Duke promised his support to the scheme, with the view of obtaining for himself the crown of the future Italian kingdom, and *Ciro Menotti*, although knowing the Prince's perverse

tendencies, trusted to Francis's insatiate lust of power to justify his own misplaced confidence.

When the revolution established Louis Philippe on the French throne, the Modenese ruler believed he was nearing the goal of his ambition, but the new King of France, in order to get himself acknowledged as such by the absolutist monarchs of Europe, communicated to Austria the details of the Italian plot. Francis IV., aware of this denunciation, but pretending, notwithstanding, to know nothing about it, wrote to warn the court of Vienna against Louis Philippe; moreover, he assured them of the existence of a conspiracy in which the French king and some Italian liberals were implicated, to which he admitted having feigned adherence for his own purposes. Then, fearing this were not enough to merit the pardon of Austria, he proceeded to display a ferocious zeal against his *ci-devant* accomplices.

On the night of the 3rd-4th of February, 1831, the chief leaders of the plot had assembled at the house of *Ciro Menotti* in Modena, for the purpose of making final arrangements, when a regiment of ducal troops arrived and surrounded the building. The besieged barricaded the doors and for several hours offered a vigorous resistance; eventually, the soldiers brought up a piece of artillery by which the dwelling was almost demolished and its occupants, now nearly all wounded, were taken prisoners. Francis IV. immediately forwarded the following note to the governor of Reggio: "A terrible plot against me has been discovered this very night. The conspirators are in my hands. Send me the executioner."

The executioner was despatched without delay, but with his arrival at Modena came the news that a rising had broken out in the neighbourhood of Bologna. This provoked such intense excitement in the city that Francis fled terrified, taking with him *Ciro Menotti* closely guarded, and thus pursued by the sounds of sedition, he sought and found protection in the Austrian garrison of Mantua.



But how had the revolution broken out at Bologna? To understand it, we must revert to the cruel treatment of the Romagna provinces during the pontificates of *Leo XII.* and *Pius VIII.* The latter had died on the 30th of November, 1830, when the news from France was already exciting a ferment in the popular mind. The conclave was of long duration, and the interregnum thus offered appeared to the liberals a good opportunity for rising. The cardinals, scenting danger, hastened on their deliberations and on the 2nd of February, 1831, raised *Father Mauro Cappellari* to the popedom under the title of *Gregory XVI.* But before the news of this election arrived in Romagna, the Bolognese, encouraged by the aspect of affairs in Modena, were in open insurrection. The papal legate was obliged to quit the city, and the revolution thus bloodlessly effected in so peaceable and methodical a manner, soon extended throughout Romagna, the Marches and parts of Umbria.

The deputies from the freed provinces assembled in convocation at Bologna on the 26th of February, 1831, declared the temporal power of the Pope to be

at an end and formed a federation of the 'United Italian Provinces,' presided over by the advocate Vicini. This political movement was abetted by the two youthful brothers Bonaparte, one of whom was shortly afterwards to die at Forlì, the other to become Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon III.

Thus, in a few days and without bloodshed, a great transformation had taken place, and the tricoloured banner now fluttered from the banks of the lower Po to those of the upper Tiber. Nor was the revolution confined to the limits of the Papal States. The flight of Francis IV. had dispelled all his people's fears, and the insurrectionary movement was acclaimed throughout the province of Emilia, so that the Duchess Marie Louise left Parma to seek a refuge amid the Austrian bayonets in the citadel of Piacenza. Meantime, provisional governments were everywhere being organised. It was now that Giovanni Berchet wrote his famous hymn of war to heighten popular enthusiasm :—

“ Su, figli d'Italia, su in armi, coraggio !
 Il suolo qui è nostro ; del nostro retaggio
 Il turpe mercato finisce pei re.
 Un popol diviso per sette destini
 In sette spezzato da sette confini
 Si fonde in un solo, più servo non è.
 Su, Italia, su in armi ! Venuto è il tuo dì !
 Dei re congiurati la tresca finì.
 Dall' Alpi allo Stretto fratelli siam tutti !
 Sui limiti schiusi, sui troni distrutti
 Piantiamo i comuni tre nostri color ;
 Il *verde*, la speme tant' anni pasciuta,
 Il *rosso*, la gioia d'averla compiuta,
 Il *bianco*, la fede fraterna d'amor. . . .”

(Up, up, sons of Italy, courage be ours !
 The land is our own, and no longer let powers
 And rulers iniquitous trade in our shame !
 O, seven are our peoples, and seven are the fates
 That govern our destinies, seven are their states ;
 But servitude o'er, then one is our name.
 To arms, sons of Italy ! Now dawns the day !
 We've done with the kings that are traitors, for aye.
 We are brethren all—from the Alps to the sea !
 Our thrones are demolished : our frontiers are free ;
 Our tricoloured banner is floating above—
 Its *green*, for the hope that has ripened through years ;
 While *red*, for the joy of fulfilment appears,
 And *white* is the symbol of brotherly love. . . .)

* * *

But the illusion was all too short. The Pope, the Duke of Modena and the Duchess of Parma, protested against the acts of the provisional governments established in their states and implored the assistance of the imperial troops. The Vienna cabinet was equally anxious to abolish these revolutionary governments south of the Po, whose existence would have menaced its own power on the north. The Italians trusted to the observance of the principle of non-intervention proclaimed by the new French monarchy, which had already been applied to Belgium, but facts soon proved that Louis Philippe was none too jealous in defending his theories against the will of Austria.

In the month of February, the Austrian troops at Piacenza escorted Marie Louise back again to Parma. So far, however, the non-intervention axiom had not been violated, seeing that the Duchess was in her own territory, and the troops who had reinstated her on the throne, by the treaty of 1815, remained in the dukedom.

By the beginning of March, Austrian soldiers had likewise entered Modena and restored Francis IV. to power. The Duke was barely reinstated on his throne than he thought himself bound to give his ally a substantial pledge of his devotion, by executing vengeance on his enemies. To this end, he called to his aid the hated Canosa who had been minister of Police under Ferdinand I. of Naples. One of the tyrant's first victims was *Ciro Menotti* whose life, at the time of the plot, he had solemnly promised to spare under all circumstances. As pretext for her interference in Modena, Austria could still claim her eventual rights of succession in the duchy, so the united Italian Provinces continued to regard themselves as secure, and in order not to infringe their own principle of non-intervention, disarmed the Modenese liberals who, under the leadership of General *Zucchi*, had retired to Bolognese territory.

However, Austria who was heedless of the open declarations of France, since she knew the secret intentions of *Louis Philippe*, despatched a body of troops into Romagna. The provisional government, seeing resistance to be impossible, withdrew from Bologna to Ancona. Meanwhile, a sanguinary struggle took place at Rimini, in which the small Italian army—at that time directed by General *Zucchi*—was defeated. The provisional government then signed a treaty of capitulation (March 26, 1831) with Cardinal *Benvenuti* who, sent by the Pope to the insurgents, had been treated by the latter as an hostage. But this capitulation was ignored both by the Pope and the Austrians: a vessel which carried a large number of the revolu-

tionists was seized, as it left the port of Ancona, by the Austrian squadron, and the captured patriots were taken to the prisons of Venice. Many among them—including Terenzio Mamiani—were after a few months' imprisonment, banished to foreign lands where, by their writings, they helped to foster sympathy for Italian grievances. Some few, however, were kept in confinement; among these was General Zucchi who, having once served in the Austrian army, was regarded as a traitor and condemned to death—a sentence afterwards commuted to that of life-long detention in the fortress of Palmanova, where we shall find him again in 1848.

* * *

Thus in less than two months, a revolution, begun so auspiciously, was totally suppressed; those cities which had, only a little before, joyfully hailed the tricoloured standard, now saw the Austrian flag hoisted over their fortresses, and Austrian gibbets arising under its shadow.

But the same nations which had, either directly or indirectly, contributed to the re-establishment of the Pope's temporal sway, grasped the fact that the latter stood in need of serious modifications. It was no longer possible, in the middle of the nineteenth century, that a population of several millions of men should be ruled by a few thousand priests; therefore, in the same year, 1831, the five great Powers of Europe—England, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia—presented a collective note to the Holy See, under the name of a *Memorandum*, in which they

insisted on some absolutely indispensable reforms. The pontifical court, as was ever its custom, professed to receive these representations with deference and promised to take them into account, but with no real intention of doing anything whatever in the matter. In short, the concessions made in response to this *Memorandum* were quite insignificant, and a blind despotism continued to prevail in the Papal States. Even those liberals who had put confidence in the intervention of diplomacy, seeing their hopes thus blasted, determined to justify their arguments by force; agitations began afresh, and armed bands of men were organised with a view to active measures.

As the Austrians had already retired, the papal government caused Swiss soldiers to oppose the insurgents, armed the dregs of the Romagna population and incited them against the liberals: hence the massacres of Cesena and Forlì in 1832. In the face of such butcheries and pillage, the Austrians intervened a second time and installed themselves at Bologna. Then King Louis Philippe, severely blamed by his Chamber of Deputies for the base part played by France towards Italy, deemed it advisable to act and sent a French regiment to occupy the citadel of Ancona. In fact, the Austrians remained at Bologna, and the French at Ancona, till the end of 1838; whilst under those two flags the wretched provinces continued to submit to the government of military commissions and exceptional tribunals.

Throughout Italy the system of violent repression of all liberal manifestations continued. It was even so in Piedmont, although Charles Albert had suc-

ceeded Charles Felix in 1831. The former had come into power backed by the liveliest expectations of all Italian liberals who saw in him the *Carbonaro* of 1821. These reminiscences, however, were not altogether grateful to the new king; rather did he seem disposed to regard the revolutionists coldly, and disinclined to draw suspicion on himself: he maintained the while an attitude of reserve, and yielded none his confidence. During the first years of his reign, indeed, he appeared to have renounced his youthful dreams of glory, to have abjured the sacred principle of national independence and to be content with the *rôle* of the grenadier of the Trocadero.

VII

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI AND 'YOUNG ITALY'

JUST at the commencement of Charles Albert's reign, a letter, dated from Marseilles and addressed to the new king, was circulated among Italian patriots, amongst whom it evoked universal enthusiasm. Charles Albert also received a copy of this missive which ran as follows:—

"SIRE! Have you never fixed your gaze—one of those eagle glances to which a world is revealed—on this smiling Italy of ours, radiant as Nature's self, crowned with two thousand years of glorious memories, the foster-mother of genius and—were she only united, and protected against foreign insult by a strong will and a few valiant hearts—infinately powerful? And have you never said, 'Here is a country destined to glorious things!' Have you never contemplated the race by whom she is peopled, magnificent still, in spite of the shadow with which servitude has obscured it, great alike through vital instincts, strength of intellect and the energy of mighty, if misguided, passions—misguided, because

circumstances have hindered their development in the right direction, but notwithstanding, the elements out of which nations are created—a race, moreover, so great that adversity has never been able to conquer its indestructible hopes. Has this thought never come to you: ‘fashion—as God did from chaos—a world out of these scattered elements; re-unite the dispersed particles and say: “It is mine all throughout, and it is happy:”’ then thou shalt be like unto the Creator Himself, and twenty millions of men will exclaim, ‘God is in heaven and Charles Albert on earth!’

“Sire, surely you once cherished these sentiments; the blood coursed joyously in your veins, fired by illimitable hopes and dreams of glory; you passed many sleepless nights, meditating on that unique idea, nay, you yourself plotted in its behalf. And what need to blush for it, for there is no more sacred vocation in the whole world than that of the conspirator who constitutes himself the avenger of humanity and the interpreter of the eternal laws of nature. The time was not then ripe, but why should ten years and a precarious crown have destroyed the ideals of your youth? . . .

“If your soul, Sire, is indeed dead to noble aspirations, if you have no other aim in reigning than to pursue the miserable routine of your royal predecessors, if you have the soul of a slave, then bend your neck under the Austrian yoke and be a despot; but even then let your despotism be genuine, because a single step which you take out of the beaten track, makes you an enemy of

that Power whom you fear. The Austrian mistrusts you, but drag to his feet the heads of ten, yea, twenty victims; load the captives with yet heavier fetters; repay, with unmeasured submission, that contempt which he has poured out upon you for ten years past. Perhaps the tyrant of Italy will forget that you have conspired against him; perhaps he will allow you to keep for some years longer the provinces which he has coveted since 1814. If, on the contrary, in reading these words, your mind reverts to those moments when you dared to look beyond the dominion of an Austrian fief, if you hear a voice within you which cries: 'Thou wert born to a great destiny';—oh, follow it; it is the voice of your good genius, the voice of Time himself who offers you his aid in climbing from century to century, till you reach eternity; it is the voice of all Italy who only waits for a word, a single word, to become yours.

"Proffer her this word! . . . Place yourself at the head of the nation and inscribe on your banner, 'Union, Liberty, Independence!' Proclaim the sanctity of thought; vindicate your claim to be the interpreter of popular rights; declare yourself the regenerator of all Italy and free her from the barbarians! Build up the future; give your name to a century, and begin an era of your own! . . .

"Sire! the enterprise may be regarded as very difficult by men who trust only to numerical strength, as well as by those who, in order to change empires, rely but on negotiations and embassies. But the way of triumph is assured, if you

can thoroughly understand your position, firmly convince yourself that you are consecrated to a holy mission and proceed with frank, decisive and energetic determination. Opinion is a power which balances all others, and great things are not accomplished by protocols, but by a right understanding of the times in which we live. The secret of power lies in the will. Choose a way which harmonises with the nation's ideal and keep to it unalterably; be firm and seize your opportunity, for you have victory in your grasp. . . .

"But if you fail to accomplish the work, others will do it without any help of yours and in spite of you! Do not let yourself be deceived by the enthusiasm which greeted your accession, but seek for the ground of that enthusiasm and you will find that, in greeting you, the people greeted hope, because your name recalled the man of 1821, and if you should cheat their expectations, a spasm of rage will succeed a joy which only has reference to the future. . . .

"I have told you the truth, Sire, free men await your answer in deeds! However it may be, rest assured that posterity will hail you as *the first among men, or the last of Italian tyrants*. Choose!

"AN ITALIAN."

And who was this Italian who thus so clearly expressed his country's ideal of unity and freedom? It was Giuseppe Mazzini, a young Genoese of twenty-six years of age, who had just come out of the prisons of Savona. From his early student

days he had been an enthusiast for the sacred principles of patriotism and liberty but suspected of complicity with the *Carbonari*, he had been arrested and condemned to several months of imprisonment. During his captivity, he had thought much on the matter and had come to the conclusion that, so far, the Italian revolutionary movements had failed, because the people had been excluded from them. Hence, in his opinion, it was necessary to initiate the masses into this new idea and before all, to make it clear to them that patriotism implied not only love of their own particular state, but of the whole of Italy. Mazzini was, therefore, the very first practical thinker to devise Italian unification.

On his liberation from captivity, the Sardinian government had offered him the alternative of confining himself to some small city in Piedmont, or leaving the kingdom. However, during his prison solitude, Mazzini had been meditating the formation of a new secret society, and rightly imagined that he would have small chance of furthering its object in a petty Piedmontese town, under the perpetual surveillance of the police; he therefore chose exile and repaired to Marseilles, whence he had just written the above-quoted letter to Charles Albert. Later, Mazzini owned he had done this for the purpose of undeceiving those liberals who still had confidence in the King of Sardinia, and to promote the general acceptance of ultra-republican principles. Charles Albert's answer to the letter was, indeed, just the one that Mazzini

had expected; the King ordered the writer should be arrested if ever he appeared on the frontier, and in the meantime, redoubled his severity against liberalism.



In the meantime, Mazzini had founded, at Marseilles, his new society, of 'Young Italy' and, under the same title, he published a periodical for the purpose of instilling into the popular mind the idea of a united, free, independent and republican Italy. The police of the different states in the peninsula frequently arrested those persons supposed to be in communication with the originator of such a revolutionary publication, but this did not prevent the latter being circulated everywhere, though its readers and propagandists ran the risk of imprisonment and even of death.

A man of ardent faith, spotless life and lofty genius, as well as a writer of impassioned prose and a born leader of men, Giuseppe Mazzini exercised an absolute fascination over the Italian patriots who rallied to his standard in goodly numbers. His most attached friend and devoted follower at Genoa was Jacopo Ruffini. The latter, having been arrested, dreaded lest some of the terrible methods of the police might be successful in extorting revelations from him, and therefore determined to commit suicide; taking a small, rusty iron bar out of the prison door, he sharpened its point on the wall and, with the weapon thus fashioned, opened his veins. Thus died Jacopo

Ruffini, in the Genoese prison of the Torre, June 19, 1833. His brothers also were arrested and then banished; one of them, Giovanni, afterwards acquired a literary reputation in England by his novels, *Doctor Antonio* and *Lorenzo Benoni*.

Among the exiles from the Sardinian states in the same year was a young priest, Vincenzo Gioberti, whose philosophical writings were beginning to make his name known. Unfortunately, the reactionary courtiers who surrounded Charles Albert insisted on urging him to bloodshed and too well succeeded in their cruel design; several of the conspirators of 1833 were condemned to death, among whom were Francesco Miglio, Giuseppe Biglia, also Antonio Gavotti, executed in Genoa, and the attorney, Andrea Vochieri, shot at Alessandria where he had shown throughout his trial and up to his last moments, a truly heroic courage.

The persecutions which the Piedmontese government set on foot against the party of Mazzini, incited the latter to organise a movement against Piedmont. He rallied some hundred fugitives and banded them together under the command of Colonel Ramorino who had acquired a certain military renown in the recent Polish insurrection. Early in 1834, this band of insurgents penetrated into Savoy, but they were received with indifference by the population who turned a deaf ear to the enthusiastic proclamations of Mazzini, so after an encounter with the royal troops, the revolutionists retired.

It had been arranged that other risings in the different Piedmontese towns were to break out simultaneously, but after the failure of the Savoy expedition, they were countermanded. In the meantime, the police set about making arrests. Amongst those embroiled in this conspiracy was a young Nice sailor, named Giuseppe Garibaldi, who had tried to find adherents for the Mazzinian cause in the ranks of the royal navy and on this account, had been condemned to death in the same year (1834). However, happily for Italy, he succeeded in making his escape.

This severe repression of revolutionary enterprise in 1833-1834, somewhat tended to alienate the sympathies of Italian patriots for Charles Albert, but did not altogether nullify them, and the few reforms he had already made in the administration of the state, sufficed to keep alive their lingering belief in his liberal tendencies.

In 1835, the Emperor Francis of Austria died and his place was filled by Ferdinand I., an absolutely inept prince, with so mean a sense of his exalted position that he used to say: "It would be easy enough to be emperor, if it were not for the continual bother of signing decrees." It can easily be understood how a monarch, so constituted, relegated all power to his prime minister, Prince Metternich, at once the most violent partisan of absolutist ideas and the bitterest adversary of Italian patriotic aspirations—the author, moreover, of that famous phrase: "Italy is only a geographical expression."

Metternich now seized the opportunity of taking

the Emperor into Italy, to receive the crown of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom at Milan. The minister desired that all the princes of the peninsula should be invited to this solemn function, because, as vassals, they would thus do homage to their common tyrant. But Charles Albert refused to be present, and this independent attitude sufficed to re-awaken that cordiality towards him which had begun to wax faint in Italian breasts.



Another Italian prince, Ferdinand II. of Naples, was, on the contrary, now rendering himself universally hated. When in 1830, at little over twenty years of age, he ascended the throne, he had aroused good hopes of better things by issuing a proclamation, in which he declared that Providence had charged him with the duty of assuaging the grievances of the Neapolitan people, and that his *régime* would be a wise and just one. But the nomination of Del Carretto as minister of police, soon disillusioned the new King's subjects. Ferdinand II. was animated by two ruling passions: an insatiable thirst for power and an inordinate love of money; the first forbade him to introduce into his states aught but the shadow of a constitutional government, and the second prevented him from troubling about the abuses fostered by his *employés*, provided they required but little for their work. By this means the most brazen corruption prevailed in the administration of his kingdom, and a regular system of rapine was practised by all the govern-

ment officials. Yet no one dared to protest against it since to print the least allusion to public abuses, exposed the authors guilty of such hardihood to imprisonment or exile. Any person suspected of liberal opinions was thrown into prison, without the government giving any motive for such an arrest, and to such an extent had spies wormed themselves into all ranks of society that every one hesitated to express his own opinions. Besides, King Ferdinand was wont to say: "My people have no need to think; I am responsible for their welfare and dignity."

The only person in the Neapolitan court beloved by the people, was the King's consort, Maria Christina of Savoy—daughter of Victor Emmanuel I.—called by her subjects, on account of her many virtues, 'the Saint.' Maria Christina died in 1836, and Ferdinand II. who had always treated her brutally, soon repaired to Vienna to affiancé himself to an Austrian arch-duchess.

In 1837, the discontent in Sicily found vent in a popular rising. There an outbreak of cholera had claimed many victims, and indignation, terror, ignorance and popular superstition combined to give credence to a rumour that the government were compassing the death of the citizens: hence in several places tumults broke out. The liberals wished to profit by this outburst of fury to free Sicily from the Bourbon yoke. Syracuse rose, and thence the revolution extended to the neighbouring district of Catania. But Ferdinand II. sent Del Carretto thither who, followed by police-agents



FERDINAND II. OF NAPLES.

and executioners, erected gibbets in all the villages, and by this means succeeded in restoring order in the island.



Meanwhile, Mazzini, expelled from France, had taken refuge in freer England where, by his writings, he was doing good service in familiarising English people with Italian literature, as well as in diffusing amongst them a strong current of sympathy for the affairs of the peninsula. Thence he boldly prosecuted his political mission and continually aimed at arousing in the minds of his compatriots, hatred against internal and foreign tyrants.

But it was not only by the inflammatory writings of Mazzini that such sentiments were propagated amongst his fellow-countrymen: all the Italian poetry and prose of that period were, so to speak, conspiring for the same end. Silvio Pellico's *Le Mie Prigioni*, that calm recital of the martyrdom endured by its author in Austrian prisons with such saint-like fortitude, injured Austrian prestige more than the loss of a battle could have done. The sentiment of his tragedy *Francesca Da Rimini* had also a most powerful effect on audiences, especially when they were declaimed by the actor Gustavo Modena:—

“ Per te, per te, che cittadini hai prodi,
Italia mia, combatterò, se oltraggio
Ti moverà l'invidia, E I più gentile
Terren non sei di quanti scalda il sole?
D'ogni bell'arte non sei madre, o Italia?
Polve di eroi non è la polve tua? . . . ”

(For thee, the mother of most valiant sons,
For thee, my Italy, I fight, e'en though
Envy may vex thee sore. But surely thou
Must be the sweetest clime the sun illumes,
And mistress of all arts : O Italy !
Is not thy dust ashes of heroes dead ?)

But even more than those of Pellico, were the tragedies of Niccolini on fire with hatred of tyranny and love of liberty. At the representation of *Giovanni Da Procida* (the legendary conspirator of the Sicilian Vespers), the Austrian ambassador at Florence remarked to his French *confrère*, that "the play seemed like a letter addressed to Frenchmen, but that its contents were evidently meant for the Austrians," and thus did the Italian people understand it. In his *Arnaldo Di Brescia*—a tragedy which evoked the greatest enthusiasm—the incisive verses of Niccolini severely castigated the vices of the clergy.

Side by side with Niccolini, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi quite bewitched the Italian youth. He sent word to Mazzini: "I have written this book—the *Assedio Di Firenze*—because I have not been able to fight a battle." Certain it is that his kindling words helped to produce heroes among the Italian people.

In the romances of D'Azeglio, Grossi and Manzoni, and the histories of Balbo, Colletta, Amari and Troya, as throughout the writings of Tommaseo, Vannucci, Capponi and Cantù, and the poetry of Rossetti, Berchet, Giusti and Prati, there vibrated the patriotic note—that note which even found an echo in the music of Bellini, Rossini and later still, of

Verdi. All these works were most efficacious in promoting the idea of the regeneration of Italy, and that which for so long had been the dream of a few chosen spirits, now became a universal aspiration throughout the country. Literary men sought, indeed, for themes which should best express the national sentiment, and the least political allusions were at once eagerly seized upon by that public which felt itself in sympathy with the writers; thus, when they came to these verses of Berchet in the *Lega Lombarda* :—

“Su, nell’irto, increscioso Alemanno
 Su, Lombardi, puntate la spada,
 Fate vostra la vostra contrada,
 Questa bella che il ciel vi sorti ”:—

(Ay, into the insolent Teuton
 Plunge boldly, O Lombards, your swords !
 Make the beauteous land heaven awards
 As your portion, for ever your own) :—

Every one's thoughts reverted—not to the Germans of Frederic Barbarossa—but to the Austrian troops of Ferdinand I. Even the science congresses helped to spread liberal influences. Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was persuaded by savants that such scientific conferences would enhance his prestige in that beautiful province which had always been the chosen home of learning, and the Grand Duke, touched by this adulation, allowed these assemblies to be inaugurated at Pisa in 1839. The example first given by Leopold II. who prided himself on honouring the learned men convened at Pisa, influenced the other more ambitious princes : Charles Albert and Ferdinand II.

now likewise permitted these congresses to be held in their dominions. Such gatherings gradually took place in all the Italian provinces—except in the Papal States—and though insignificant in their scientific results, they much profited the national cause, by facilitating communications between the most eminent men scattered in the different parts of Italy and by arousing the peninsula from that political torpor in which it had been, up till this time, studiously lulled by its rulers.

Meanwhile, the development and utilisation of machinery became widespread, and a rapid industrial and commercial growth kept pace with it. The number of agrarian associations, in order to popularise in the country the improvements already introduced in agriculture, increased; savings banks were founded, and the circulation of papers was fostered. Progress was, in fact, in the air, and made itself felt especially in the construction of fresh railroads.

VIII

THE FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

MAZZINI used to say: "Martyrdom is never sterile," and therefore he favoured all insurrectionary projects set on foot by the most ardent of his disciples. Hence followed some risings, quickly repressed, in the Abruzzi (1841), in Romagna (1843) and in Calabria (1844). With this Calabrian movement is associated the heroic expedition undertaken by the Bandiera brothers. Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, two young Venetian officers (sons of that Austrian admiral who had captured the vessel which was carrying the insurgents of 1831 from the port of Ancona), had been fired by the writings of Mazzini with the determination to consecrate their lives to the redemption of Italy. In 1842 they revealed their project to Mazzini and thenceforward kept up with him an unbroken correspondence. They succeeded in inducing another Venetian naval officer, Domenico Moro, to share their undertaking, abandoned the Austrian vessels under their command and repaired to Corfu, there to await the news of any outbreak in Italy, which

might give them an opportunity of fighting for the sacred cause.

Then came the revolt in Calabria, which had no sooner broken out than it was quelled. A false report, however, was circulated at Corfu that the insurrection was being kept alive in the mountain districts. The Bandiera brothers decided to carry aid to the insurgents and rallied other patriots to their standard. A band of only nineteen, they arrived at Cotrone, in Calabria, and thence made for Cosenza. But, betrayed by a traitor in their ranks, they were quickly surrounded by a considerable number of Neapolitan troops and, after a short struggle, were taken prisoners and conducted to Cosenza where they were condemned to death. Nine of them paid the extreme penalty on the 25th of July, 1844, in the valley of Rovito: Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, Domenico Moro, Nicola Ricciotti of Frosinone, Lupatelli of Perugia, Rocco of Lugo, Venerucci of Forlì, Berti of Ravenna and Nardi of Modena tranquilly faced the Bourbon bullets with the cry of "Italy for ever!" for the last time on their lips.

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The death of the Bandiera brothers sent a thrill of horror throughout the peninsula but, while deploring the fate of these patriots, the majority of Italians well understood that such isolated movements and agitations could produce no satisfactory results, that other means must be found, another order of ideas followed, to attain their ends—a theory pursued by Vincenzo Gioberti, a priest of Turin, and

a number of Piedmontese writers. Gioberti, who had been exiled from Piedmont in 1833, had taken refuge in Brussels where he had acquired considerable reputation by his philosophical works. In that city, he published a book in 1843, which bore the title *Il Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani*. The Italians, indeed, could ill boast of any primacy at that epoch, rather were they plunged in the lowest depths of misery and humiliation, and Gioberti himself was not slow to recognise the fact when he wrote as follows:—

“While, to the north, there is a people numbering only twenty-four millions who rule the sea, make Europe tremble, own India, vanquish China and occupy the best ports of Asia, Africa, America and Oceania, what great things have we Italians done? What are our manual and intellectual exploits? Where are our fleets and our colonies? What rank do our legates hold; what force do they wield; what wise or authoritative influence do they exert in foreign courts? What weight attaches to the Italian name in the balance of European power? Foreigners, indeed, know and still visit our country, but only for the purpose of enjoying the changeless beauty of our skies and of looking upon the ruins of our past. But what profits it to speak of glory, riches and power? Can Italy say she has a place in the world? Can she boast of a life of her own and of a political autonomy, when she is awed by the first insolent and ambitious upstart who tramples her under foot and galls her with his yoke? Who is there who shudders not when he reflects that,

disunited as we are, we must be the prey of any assailant whatever, and that we owe even that wretched fraction of independence which charters and protocols still allow us, to the compassion of our neighbours." "Although," he adds in conclusion, "all this has come upon us through our own fault; nevertheless, by the exercise of a little strength of will and determination, without upheavals or revolutions and without perpetrating injustice, we can still be one of the first races in the world."

It was, indeed, a seductive programme, and Gioberti rendered it yet more so by his fervently enthusiastic style which was combined with a singularly temperate judgment. He awarded praise to princes and peoples alike, endeavouring to establish concord between them, and especially extolled the papacy which he called "the glory of Italy" and manifested his desire that "a pacific and lasting confederation of Italian princes, commanded and protected by the Pope," might be organised—a scheme in which Austria was also to find her place.

The effects of his book were extraordinary. The rulers, flattered by its eulogies, permitted its free circulation in Italy; the people, proudly realising in these eloquent pages that they had once had pre-eminence in the world and ought to regain it, warmly applauded the author; while the clergy, attracted by the eloquence of one of their own body who taught that religion and patriotism ought to be associated, ardently welcomed the ideals presented by Gioberti. His sentiments in fact found so much favour with the public, that they directly gave rise to the 'Neo-

Guelph' party, so-called because it wished to place the Pontiff at the head of the national movement. The Jesuits alone, foreseeing the far-reaching effects of such ideals in the future, fiercely attacked the book and its writer, but Gioberti retorted, in 1845, by *I Prolegomeni*, and later by his *Gesuita Moderno*.

Another book, which appeared in 1844, had also excited much attention—Cesare Balbo's *Speranze D'Italia*. This author likewise extolled the papacy, propounded very moderate ideas and aimed at forming a union of Italian states, only stipulating that Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, as the only Italian ruler who possessed a strong army, should be the protector of such a confederation. Balbo maintained that Austria ought to be excluded from this league, but he deprecated the enforcing of such exclusion by a war; counting, moreover, on the fall of the Ottoman Empire, he imagined that Austria, thus enlarging her possessions towards the east, would be ready to cede Lombardy and Venetia to Italy. Such strikingly moderate proposals were expressed in the reasonable hope that the books which contained them would meet with no opposition from the governments.



It was indeed a strange phenomenon that the papacy should be acclaimed as a blessing to Italy by writers, who flourished under the pontificate of Gregory XVI.—certainly not one of the best of popes. Originally a monk of the Camaldoli order he had been famous for his intense devotion to theological studies, in which he had found a *collabo-*

vateur in his barber, Gaetano Moroni. The Pontiff had, besides, a very pronounced weakness for the wine of Orvieto, and left the care of political affairs to his secretaries of state—first Cardinal Bernetti, afterwards Cardinal Lambruschini. The population of the Papal States still lived in the most absolute ignorance and miserable squalor; brigandage devastated the country districts, and the pontifical court actually came to terms with robbers. In short, the inhabitants of these provinces paid for the honour of being ruled by the successor of St. Peter, by exclusion from all the advantages of modern civilisation.

Now came the episode of Rimini. Gregory XVI. (1845) had responded to Gioberti's glowing pages by persecuting the liberals more furiously than ever. Those patriots, however, before rising against the pontifical government, felt the need of justifying their insurrection in the eyes of Europe and, to this end, published a proclamation, drawn up by Luigi Carlo Farini, wherein were set forth the just reforms demanded for popular grievances—a document which proved what headway the moderate idea had already made at this period. The insurgents occupied the city of Rimini, but retreated before the advance of the Swiss troops and withdrew into Tuscany. Living there at that time, was Massimo D'Azeglio who had not only already acquired a reputation as a romancist and landscape-painter, but had, in the course of his travels, won the sympathies of his fellow-countrymen by his distinguished personal qualities. On seeing these unhappy fugi-

tives, he wrote the famous political *brochure*, *Gli Ultimi Casi di Romagna*. Whilst deprecating, in this tract, all conspiracy and violence, he expressed fiery indignation against the papal government and concluded by saying: "No, we must no longer plot, but we must openly protest in the full light of day, against all the iniquities that have been perpetrated." This work found also a deep and prolonged echo throughout all Italy.

Everywhere, in fact, the Italian question was discussed, and the moderate writers—that is, those who sought to harmonise revolutionary theories with existing facts—enjoyed the greatest popularity. Among the more notable publications of that time is Giacomo Durando's work, *Della Nazionalità Italiana* wherein is propounded the theory that Italy ought to form two great friendly and confederate states—the northern one, under Charles Albert, the southern, under the Bourbons—and to allow the temporal power, restricted to its narrowest limits, to continue in Central Italy. There was no agreement, it is true, among these writers, as to the new order to be set up in the peninsula, but all were at one in declaring that Italy could not exist in her present state, for all saw it was impossible that such a condition of affairs should last. But meantime, like the molten lava in the abyss of Etna, the revolutionary flood was secretly seething in the inmost heart of the nation.

IX

FROM REFORMS TO REVOLUTION

CHARLES ALBERT, who hitherto had displayed a somewhat vacillating policy all round, now began to manifest the deep hatred which he secretly cherished against Austria. The public gladly saw Cesare Balbo, author of the *Speranze d'Italia*, welcomed as an intimate friend by the King, and noted with satisfaction that several of their monarch's associates showed patriotic tendencies. In a conversation held with Charles Albert in 1845, Massimo D'Azeglio had been commissioned by the King to tell the liberals that, when the hour for action arrived, they might reckon on the royal support.

It was an auspicious omen for the constitutionalist party when, in 1846, a chance was offered Charles Albert of making known his anti-Austrian sentiments in a public and official manner, and this through a question connected with the customs. Since 1843, Piedmont had granted the Canton of Ticino a free transit for the salt that its Swiss inhabitants procured

at Marseilles or at the free port of Genoa. Austria, who up till then had supplied this part of Switzerland with salt from Venice, resented such an arrangement, and maintained that the concession thus made by the Piedmontese government was contrary to treaties existing between the two nations. Diplomatic notes were interchanged in succession by both parties, with the usual result of diplomacy—that of passing the time without coming to any decision. Finally, Austria, piqued by the new attitude of the Sardinian monarch towards the liberal movement, adopted a bold *coup* to make him change his tactics and on the 20th of April, 1846, without any previous warning to the Piedmontese government, redoubled the duties on the wine of Piedmont. This blow severely injured the commercial interests of the latter which found in Lombardy the principal egress for its wine exports; hence, Austria thought that Charles Albert would be obliged to submit. But he not only indignantly refused to bow to the imperial decree, but caused an account of the affair to be printed in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale Piemontese* of the 2nd of May, which concluded by asserting that Austria, in taking such a step, had committed an act of reprisals.

In view of the servile attitude preserved by the other Italian States towards Austria, this fearless action on the part of Piedmont appeared nearly a declaration of war, and evoked great enthusiasm among the Turinese. Such a feeling was intensified by a current rumour which reported that, during a ministerial council, the Count De La Tour had said



CHARLES ALBERT,
King of Sardinia.

to the King: "But what will Piedmont do if Austria, hitherto friendly to us, should become hostile?" to which Charles Albert had answered: "If Piedmont loses Austria she will gain Italy, and then Italy will be able to manage her own affairs"—words which found a sympathetic echo throughout the whole community.

The heads of the liberal party determined to profit by this enthusiasm and to organise a demonstration, in order to show the King how strongly the country desired he should persevere in the new way he had struck out.

Every Thursday, Charles Albert used to be present at military manœuvres in the public square. About ten o'clock on the first Thursday morning, immediately after the publication of the article in the *Gazzetta* (May 7, 1846) an immense crowd assembled in the Piazza Castello, before the royal palace, with the intention of greeting their monarch's appearance by a tremendous ovation. This people which, for fifteen years, had shown itself most cold and reserved towards its sovereign, now wished to fire his soul by its own enthusiasm. Behind a window of the palace stood Charles Albert, in a general's uniform, watching the throng in the square, his eyes shining with joyful anticipation at the thought of being hailed with such unaccustomed applause. Alas! for him the hour of bold decision had not yet come: his reactionary ministers exerted their pressure moreover to prevent him yielding to the popular fervour. He was still vacillating when De La Tour, anxious, as he said,

to save the monarchy, arrived, and represented to the King that, as the Austrian ambassador knew that during the demonstration cries would be raised hostile to Austria, the latter would regard such utterances as a provocation on the part of Piedmont. Intimidated by this warning and fearful of precipitating matters, Charles Albert decided not to show himself to the crowd, so the demonstration was nipped in the bud, and the discontented people retired to their own homes.



Dark clouds were now gathering over the peninsula, when a light, that was the harbinger of better days, suddenly shone out of the obscurity and, this time, from Rome itself. New ideas are like very pungent perfumes which filter out, however closely they are secreted. Far enough removed from new ideas had been the papal court, during the fifteen years' pontificate of Gregory XVI. However, no sooner was the latter dead (1st of June, 1846), than the same faction which was dividing the Italian world—conservatives and liberals, the men of the past and those of the future—sprang up in the Sacred College itself.

The reactionary cardinals had already fixed upon their candidate in the person of the Genoese, Lambruschini, who, as secretary of state, had hitherto directed papal politics. During the preceding ten years, the other side had had no champion in particular, neither had they formulated any definite theory of action. The liberal cardinals now con-

tented themselves with a general declaration that the introduction of state reforms, based on the principles of a progressive civilisation, was necessary, and the man who appeared to them pre-eminently adapted to carry out their ideas, was Cardinal Giovanni Mastai Ferretti, of Sinigaglia. At first, however, the party which favoured his election appeared much weaker than the opposition, but it gained influence through two convictions which always powerfully actuate all conclaves—the one was that the new Pontiff ought to be of different tendencies to his predecessor, the other that he ought to be a native of the Roman States. After the first polling, some of the partisans of Lambruschini, seeing the doubtful success of their candidate, determined to support Mastai, because, reckoning on the latter's yielding disposition, they hoped under his *régime*, to preserve the influence they had already acquired; thus, after only a three days' conclave, on the 16th of June, 1846, Giovanni Mastai was elected to fill the throne of St. Peter, under the title of Pius IX.

The new Pope was fifty-four years of age and, as governor of Imola, had given evidence of a kindly and lenient temper. At Imola he had lived on friendly terms with Count Giuseppe Pasolini, an enthusiastic liberal, and with him had also read and approved the *Primato* of Gioberti, the *Speranze d'Italia* of Balbo and the *Ultimi Casi di Romagna* of D'Azeglio: indeed it was said that Cardinal Mastai, when starting for the conclave, had carried these three books with him, as an offering to the



PIUS IX.

(From a painting by Metzmach.)

new successor to the popedom. His benevolent, smiling and open countenance, as well as his affable and courteous manners, immediately won all suffrages, and such popularity was well deserved, endowed as he was with great natural goodness of heart and animated by the best intentions. But good intentions are not a sufficient equipment for the man who is at the head of a state, especially at a momentous crisis. Successfully to face the condition of affairs just then, in the pontifical kingdom and in Italy generally, required a mental grasp and strength of will to which Pius IX. was quite a stranger, nor had he a clear notion of the very complicated political situation.

One of the most insistent and general demands that the various cities of the Papal States had pressed upon the late conclave by means of petitions, was that for an amnesty for political prisoners. A progressive step that had been taken throughout all Italy, in which the pontifical provinces alone had not shared, was the construction of railways. These points were the key to the programme which the new Pope had traced out, so that in an assembly of diplomatists, held during the first days of his new rule, Cardinal Ferretti, his cousin and mouthpiece, is reported to have said, to the then French ambassador, Pellegrino Rossi, "We shall have the amnesty and railways and all will be well."

On the 16th of July, 1846, just a month after his election, Pius IX. inaugurated his political career by granting a general amnesty to the condemned political prisoners. To the minds of Italians already

prepared for such ideas by the 'Neo-Guelph' party it suddenly seemed as if Gioberti's ideal pontiff—the restorer of Italian liberty and greatness—had arisen. The nomination of a body of men commissioned to seek for and study the reforms needful in the States of the Church, gave some ground for the applause which the new Pope evoked ; every time he went into the city, he was carried in triumph by a rejoicing crowd which, in the cry of " Long live Pius IX.," did but express the hopes and aspirations of all Italy. *Fêtes* succeeded one another on the smallest pretext and the people evinced their delight by constantly assembling in the public square and giving vent to their feelings by processions, shoutings and songs. These demonstrations found an enthusiastic leader in a citizen, named Angelo Brunetti, popularly nicknamed 'Ciceruacchio,' who exercised a very great ascendancy over the Roman mob. At the same time, a Sicilian friar, Father Ventura, hymned from the pulpit the alliance between the priesthood and the democracy. The excitement in the capital spread to the country districts ; a new tremor thrilled men's hearts and minds, like that by which all nature is stirred when the sun appears on the horizon.

Pius IX. delightedly surrendered himself to the sweets of popularity, but he was heard to observe that the people daily proffered some new request, and by degrees, the populace, rather than he, took the initiative in reforms. The liberty of the press, for instance, was usurped rather than conceded : from the January of 1847, political papers began to appear

in Rome and Bologna—the two chief cities in the Papal States—and following closely on these, were founded clubs which instigated and regulated public demonstrations.

Whilst the routes for railway lines were being studied, the Pope, in April, 1847, announced the formation of a 'Council of State,' with a deliberate vote on taxation; it was to be composed of four-and-twenty lay councillors chosen by the Pontiff out of *ternes* or lists of three persons, presented by the provincial assemblies. This was a great step in advance, since, up till then, the laity had taken no part in state administration; indeed, Pius IX. probably thought, by this means, that he had now achieved the maximum of reforms.



The popularity of the new Pontiff was soon general throughout the peninsula; every one declared that a new era was dawning for Italy. But this movement which seemed to have originated in Rome, had, in reality, its roots in the conscience of the nation; it was the voice of all Italy that now surged like the noise of the long pent-up waters of a mighty river which has burst its dams.

The first province to feel the effects of this upheaval was Tuscany. There it found chief expression in public demonstrations in the Pope's honour; then the passing of the great English economist, Richard Cobden, through Florence, was made a pretext for ostentatiously acclaiming the liberal principles he represented. Taking advantage



LEOPOLD II.,
Grand Duke of Tuscany.

of the leniency of the existing government, the advocates of the new ideas actually ventured on openly inviting the Grand Duke to follow the example of the Pope. Leopold II., weary of these ceaseless importunities and disgusted by the clandestine circulations of the press, decided, in the May of 1847, to promulgate a new and more comprehensive law in relation to the censorship—a concession that was the signal for the immediate appearance of important journalistic publications at Florence, Pisa and Leghorn. In Tuscany, by reason of the country's superior standard of culture and the existence of a more numerous *bourgeoisie*, journalism flourished much more than in Rome and rallied to its ranks the distinguished talents of such eminent men as the Sicilian, Giuseppe La Farina, the Tuscans, Atto Vannucci, Bettino Ricasoli, Vincenzo Salvagnoli, Giuseppe Montanelli, Domenico Guerrazzi, Mazzoni, Centofanti, Giorgini and many others. Spurred on by the press, the Tuscan government was rapidly impelled to introduce important judicial and administrative reforms.

Charles Albert in the meantime had been, so far, checked in his patriotic propensities by the fear of ecclesiastical censure; now he saw the Head of the Church outstripping him on the path of liberalism. Hence, he found in these same religious sentiments—which up till then had been regarded as obstacles in his course—a stimulus to pursue without hesitation that road wherein he had already taken some few and uncertain steps. However, in this revival of new life in Italy, he sought to divert the attention of

his subjects from questions relating to political freedom, in order to turn and concentrate the whole force of public opinion against Austria.

In September, 1846, the eighth Scientific Congress was held at Genoa. In those days, when the excitement had mastered every one, this assembly aroused the keenest interest ; all the most learned men of the peninsula hastened to take part in it and indeed it was rightly called by Balbo " the first Italian parliament." Politics were discussed rather than science, and vent was given to earnest patriotic aspirations. The political question was all the more opportunely raised by the speakers, inasmuch as just a century had elapsed since the Genoese had revolted and driven the Austrians from the city. The members of the Congress paid a visit to the place where the insurrection had first broken out, and the Genoese citizens were inspired to keep a solemn celebration of the anniversary of the expulsion of the Austrians. This demonstration took place on the 5th of December and had a vociferous success, but strangely enough, on this occasion, the Piedmontese police seemed to have become suddenly afflicted with deafness.



By the delirium of this fever which had attacked Italy, could be gauged the intensity of Italian hatred against Austria, and its development much alarmed Prince Metternich. The latter who declared a liberal pope to be an impossibility, made strenuous endeavours to check the pontifical court in its new career of reform, and gave hints to the governments

of Florence and Turin to the same effect. However, the Austrian minister, seeing that the Grand Duke had unreservedly submitted to the guidance of the people's will and that his own friendly exhortations were unheeded both at Turin and Rome, had recourse to a bold threat. By the treaties of 1815, a body of Austrian troops had been quartered in the citadel of Ferrara—in papal territory; now, in the August of 1847, these troops, fully equipped for war, occupied the whole of the city.

Against this abuse of power, which aroused a torrent of indignation throughout the country, Pius IX. was urged by public opinion to an energetic protest, wherein he was supported by Charles Albert who was only too glad to find in the Pope an ally against their common oppressor. The effect of the Austrian policy on the Italian population was that of the lash on a restive horse, that is to say, the people became more intractable than ever. The excitement was simply indescribable; the Pope himself was expected to proclaim a holy war and to utter the cry of Julius II.: "Away with the barbarians!" The civic guard which had already been peremptorily demanded by the Roman and Tuscan press, was immediately organised in both states. The university students, only just home for the vacation, spread the patriotic contagion throughout the most remote country places. Long-standing feuds were made up between families and districts; on all sides was felt the need of forging a chain of brotherly love to bind men in a common cause, and everywhere were celebrated the *fêtes* of federation.

Charles Albert now resolved on giving more decisive expression to his sentiments. Early in September, 1847, an Agrarian Congress was held at Casale where such bold political speeches were made that the Piedmontese police feigned not to hear them. The last session of this assembly was marked by a memorable occurrence: the Count Di Castagneto, an intimate friend of Charles Albert, rose and read a letter that he had just received from the King, which ran as follows: "If ever God allows us to proclaim a war of independence, it is I alone who will take command of the army, and I have resolved to do in the Guelph cause that which Schamyl is doing against the great Russian Empire . . . Ah! what a blessed day will that be when we can raise the cry of national independence!" Thus did Charles Albert at last open his heart and mark out his life-programme. The enthusiastic acclamations of members of the Casale Congress understood it as well as all the inhabitants of Piedmont who, on the occasion of the the King going to lay the first stone of a bridge over the Bormida, near Acqui, flocked around the monarch and greeted him with an extraordinary ovation.

But at Genoa the demonstrations did not end in mere applause; rather were substantial hopes raised, although Turin still kept silent. It is true the capital also had warmly welcomed the patriotic words of the King, but now it wanted something more and looked for the latter to inaugurate such reforms as those already adopted by Pius IX. and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Success was hoped for by adopting the means used by the Romans and Florentines

to put pressure on their rulers—that is, popular demonstrations. On the evening of October 1, 1847, the eve of the King's birthday, a large crowd gathered in the Ripari promenade to sing the hymn of Pius IX., cry "God save the King!" and call for reforms, but they were suddenly interrupted by a body of guards and carabinieri who attacked the mob and arrested the ringleaders.

It was a miserable surprise for the whole community. Had the King then repented of his liberal tendencies, and was he going back from his promised line of action? Was he indeed *Il Re Tentenna* ('King Waverer'), as the young poet, Domenico Carbone, dubbed him, in some verses written on that very October night? This little poem had immediate popularity and was a jesting comment on the perpetual inconsistency evident in Charles Albert's conduct—an inconsistency which led him to retain at the same time Count Solaro della Margherita, the most distinguished champion of reactionary ideas in Piedmont, as his minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Marquis di Villamarina, who was credited with being a liberal, as his minister of War. Charles Albert, too, read this unflattering effusion, and perhaps it inspired him to act with decision.

Diplomacy, as well as popular manifestations, tended to free the King from vacillation. At this juncture, Lord Minto, ostensibly travelling in Italy for amusement, but in reality as a secret emissary of the English government, arrived in Turin. He frankly counselled the Piedmontese monarch to have done with delays, to concede important reforms

and to get rid of his reactionary advisers. A few days afterwards, Charles Albert dismissed both della Margherita and Villamarina, and caused a scheme of reforms to be drawn up, which appeared in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of the 30th of October.

Whoever to-day chances to read those four closely printed columns can hardly understand what an immense outburst of joy they called forth from the Piedmontese. They were, in fact, restricted enough innovations; the free election of communal and provincial councillors was decreed; the police-regulations and the administration of justice were improved and a limit was imposed on the censorship of the press. But, compared with the absolutism of the past, they represented a forward step in liberalism; besides, the bulk of the people had regarded the concession of reforms in itself as a universal panacea. Now they had the satisfaction of their desires, they looked for the inauguration of that golden age of which they had dreamed so long. To greet the auspicious event came an influx of illuminations, music, banners, *Te Deums*, inscriptions and the inevitable sonnets, songs and hymns. A few days later, when Charles Albert left Turin to stay a month, as was his custom, at Genoa, he was hailed throughout his journey by enthusiastic ovations, and even the Genoese who had always resented the domination of Piedmont and seemed to hanker after their ancient republic, awarded him a triumphal reception.

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Very differently did things progress in the kingdom

of Naples. The election of Pius IX. had there, as elsewhere in Italy, awakened earnest hopes and aspirations, but King Ferdinand II. suddenly opposed the new tendencies, and made his subjects understand that he did not mean to bow down to the idol of the hour. Then the impatient and furious imprecations of the *bourgeoisie* found vent in an anonymous publication of which the police, luckily, failed to discover the author—Luigi Settembrini. In that tract, entitled *Protesta Del Popolo Delle Due Sicilie*, the shameless existing *régime* was thus set forth: "This government is an immense pyramid whose base is composed of police-agents and priests and whose apex is the King. Every *employé*, from the soldier to the general, from the *gendarme* to the minister of police, from the priest to the King's confessor, every petty clerk even, is a cruel despot and worse, over his inferiors, and a mean sycophant towards his superiors. Whence it happens that whosoever is not among the oppressors feels himself crushed on all sides by the vile tyranny of countless knaves, and the peace of mind, freedom and possessions of honest men are made to depend on the caprice—I will not even say of a prince or a minister—but of every subordinate official, of a courtesan, of a spy, or of a Jesuit. Oh, my brothers and compatriots, deem not this language is too strong; do not assert in the press that we ought to speak with more prudence and moderation, but come amongst us and feel as we feel this wrong that, like a red-hot iron, sears and eats into our hearts; sympathise with our sufferings and write and advise us." Numerous enough were such anonymous

protests against the existing order of things, but all voiced the widespread tendency towards revolution and it was felt that the suppression of such long-endured wrongs could only be accomplished by violent means.

On the 1st of September, 1847, the revolt broke out simultaneously at Reggio and Messina. At the latter place, towards evening, about fifty resolute, daring spirits raised the cry of "Italy, Pius IX., and the Constitution for ever!" and determined on surprising the officials—assembled at a banquet—but the latter had already taken refuge in the citadel. The troops pursued through the streets the handful of insurgents who, after a desperate resistance, dispersed, and sought safety in flight. At Reggio di Calabria, victory had favoured the rebels from the outset. Headed by Domenico Romeo, they obliged the fortress to surrender and formed a provisional government, but soon came the discouraging news of the unsuccessful movement at Messina. Then two royal vessels from Naples appeared on the scene, bombarded the city and disembarked soldiers. The revolutionists were obliged to abandon Reggio and take refuge in the mountains of Aspromonte where they persisted in the struggle for nearly a month, but, having been tracked to their last remaining defences, the majority were arrested. Domenico Romeo being wounded, had sheltered himself in a straw-rick, but was dislodged and killed. Thus these revolts had no other result than the initiation of fresh and fiercer persecutions, such as the Neapolitan princes of the House of Bourbon knew too well how to plan, and their agents, to carry out.

Meantime, the reforms granted by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Charles Albert were but feeding the flame already kindled in men's minds, and in November demonstrations took place at Naples and Palermo. In the following month, the most distinguished Piedmontese and Romagnol liberals thought of addressing a petition to Ferdinand II. to induce him to pursue the policy of Pius IX., Leopold II. and Charles Albert. The demands of such signatories would to-day be regarded as anything but exacting, but at least they showed to the world that Italy had recourse to the moderate policy of persuasion before resorting to that of violence. Ferdinand II. must indeed have smiled with contempt at this document, so little calculated to appeal to him, but to quench effectually all further agitation, he forbade the cry "Long live Pius the Ninth!" to be raised in his dominions, for this magic watchword which not only represented, but was a factor in developing the future, was naturally considered seditious in all places where the *régime* of the past was to be preserved intact.

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At Modena, Francis IV., the betrayer of Ciro Menotti, had been dead since January, 1846, but the wretched government of this duchy was hardly ameliorated under his son and successor, Francis V. At the first demonstrations in the Pope's favour, the ducal troops used arms against the crowd, and Francis V. made known to his subjects that if his bullies were not enough to keep the liberals in

check, he had beyond the Po an entire army at his beck and call. In fact, shortly afterwards, at the Duke's own request, Austrian soldiers entered his states in order to prevent any manifestations of liberalism.

Much the same deplorable condition of affairs prevailed in Parma and Piacenza. Advancing age had impressed Maria Louise, Napoleon's widow, with the necessity of doing penance for her many sins ; she therefore allowed friars and priests to hold unlimited sway in the dukedom. On her death in December, 1847, her successor, Charles Louis of Bourbon, already Duke of Lucca, immediately invited a body of Austrian troops to enter his territory, in order clearly to show his subjects his intentions.

As to the Lombardo-Venetian States, Austria had set herself to 'germanise' them in vain. There two elements existed which could never amalgamate, in the Austrian oppressors and the Italian oppressed and, by degrees, the latter allowed their bitter feelings to find vent. At Milan the most complete representative of this epoch was Cesare Correnti, whilst the heart and soul of all patriotic aspirations in Venice was Daniele Manin.

The enthusiasm for Pius IX. had naturally obtained also in the Austrian subject-provinces who seized every possible occasion of making pacific protests against the foreign yoke, in the expectancy that new developments would admit of a more strenuous line of action. The first Milanese demonstration of the kind took place on the occasion of the funeral of Count Federico Confalonieri, who had died in a Swiss

village, December 10, 1846, eight years after his release from Spielberg. In 1847, the ninth scientific congress was held at Venice, and Daniele Manin profited by the occasion to fan the flame of independence throughout Venetia and to strengthen the ties which bound her to the other provinces. On the 5th of September of the same year, the new archbishop of Milan, Count Romilli, made his solemn entry into the city. An Italian by birth, he had succeeded the Austrian prelate, Gaisruch, and had been nominated by Pius IX.—a fact which sufficed to make his reception the occasion for great *fêtes* and popular rejoicings. Three days later on the feast of the Madonna, the illuminations were repeated amid the renewed enthusiasm of the populace and frequent cries of "Long live Pius the Ninth!" but, at a given signal, pre-instructed *gendarmes* attacked the crowd with drawn sabres and dealt blows among them, by which one person was killed and several wounded. This tyrannous action of the authorities and the police helped much to unite all classes of society in closer bonds of sympathy, so that now against Austria there was a universally agreed enmity.

The Austrian government had caused two Central Congregations to be formed, one for Lombardy and the other for Venice, empowered to present petitions to the administration. Now in December, 1847, Councillor Nazzari, a native of Bergamo, preferred a request to the Lombardy Congregation, urging the nomination of a commission for drawing up a report on the condition of the country and the causes of popular discontent, and this proposal was approved

by the Congregation. No sooner had Daniele Manin procured a copy than he caused it to be printed and circulated in the province of Venetia, and himself presented an analogous one to the Venetian Central Congregation. At the same time, the distinguished *littérateur*, Niccolò Tommaseo, made a speech at the *Ateneo* of Venice, expressing the wish for a more comprehensive legislation on the censorship. Confronted by these agitations which continually increased, the Austrian governor redoubled his vigilance and severity.

In a word, Italy, at the beginning of 1848, seemed divided into two parties who were proceeding on widely diverse methods. In the Pontifical States, Tuscany and Piedmont, the carrying out of reforms was accompanied by festivals, demonstrations and popular rejoicings—nay, it became possible to initiate a customs league between these three states which was in itself the first step towards a political federation. But in the kingdom of Naples, the Lombardo Venetian States and the duchies of Modena and Parma, the most severe reactionary policy was maintained. It can thus be easily understood how these provinces would form the hot-bed of the revolution.



Singularly enough the first shock of revolt proceeded from the volcanic soil of Sicily. In the beginning of January, 1848, a bold proclamation was posted up at all the street-corners and public places in Palermo, asserting that the time for entreaties and

pacific demonstrations was at an end and embodying an invitation to all Sicilians to arm on the 12th of January, the birthday of the 'King of the Two Sicilies.' This manifesto was, needless to say, anonymous; only after the outbreak of the revolution, was it known to be the work of a young sculptor, Francesco Bagnasco.

At first the police derided the movement as mere brag. However, on the night of the 9-10th of January, they adopted the precaution of arresting eleven of the most prominent liberals, including Francesco Perez, Gabriele and Emerico Amari and Francesco Ferrara. The military also took what they deemed necessary measures in the matter. It is wonderful that it should have been possible not only for the rising to break out, but for it to become irrepressible and end in victory, after so much careful prevision on the part of the government, whilst there was hardly any serious preparation on the side of the revolutionists who reckoned chiefly on the prevailing state of feeling and on what chance, which so often develops isolated *émeutes* into gigantic revolutions, held in store. Besides, it was under just such conditions, without any pre-conceived plan, that the famous revolt of the Sicilian Vespers had taken place, as indeed the distinguished historian, Michele Amari, in writing of that period—proving the legend of Giovanni Da Procida to be groundless—has very justly pointed out. When revolution germinates in the conscience of the people, it breaks forth spontaneously.

No one, however, would have hoped for such a



RUGGERO SETTIMO.

result on that January morning. The citizens thronged the public ways; the police had verified their precautions, but vainly sought for the expected armed bands and the heads of the revolutionary movement. The anxiety was painfully intense, but about eight a.m., a young man, who had gone out alone, but furnished with weapons, into one of the most frequented thoroughfares of Palermo, called out 'Treason!' and nearly desperate, discharged his musket into the air. Then the most courageous citizens poured, ready armed, into the streets, whilst others began to ring the bells as a signal for the fighting to begin. The Bourbon military commanders did not dare let the troops out of the fortresses and barracks, and decided to restrict themselves to defensive action. During the night, other revolutionary bands came in from the country districts and neighbouring communes to the aid of the insurgents. The Neapolitan troops bombarded the city from the forts; the citizens, in their turn, attacked and conquered several barracks, then, inspired by success, organised a provisional government under the presidency of the venerable admiral, Ruggero Settimo.

The fighting was prolonged throughout the following days, and with ever-growing victory for the revolutionists whose ranks were hourly strengthened. Neither the men-of-war sent from Naples nor the continued bombardment from the fortresses could subdue Palermo. Hence, after a fortnight's sanguinary struggle, the Bourbon soldiers were compelled to abandon the city. The other Sicilian towns now followed the example of Palermo so that at the

beginning of February, the whole island, with the exception of a few strongholds, had shaken off the yoke of despotism.

Encouraged by the news from Sicily, Naples now began to move; a petition for the concession of a constitution, drawn up by Ruggero Bonghi, was circulated among the Neapolitans, and on the 27th of January, in spite of all police precautions, a great demonstration boldly perambulated the city thoroughfares. Then Ferdinand II., seeing his crown in danger, pretended to grant of his own free will that which he dared not refuse any longer and promised his subjects the desired constitution (January 28th).



The vicissitudes of Southern Italy precipitated matters in the other Italian provinces, notably in Piedmont, where early in January, new and more explicit demands had been urged at the palace. Gioberti had, by this time, published his scathing book entitled *Il Gesuita Moderno* and his words immediately found an echo in the hearts of all Italian liberals. Indeed, there was a universal desire for the expulsion of the Jesuits and their affiliated religious houses—in particular, that community of the ‘Ladies of the Sacred Heart,’ whose members the Tuscans used playfully to call the ‘Jesuit swallows.’ At Genoa, a public petition was set on foot to implore Charles Albert to expel the Society and to allow the institution of a civic guard, such as had already been doing duty, for some months past, in Tuscany and Rome: to this end, a commission was sent to prefer

these requests to the King. Then the Turinese journalists convened a meeting, to consider a means of backing up the Genoese claims. The splendid roll of names which distinguished that assembly of January 7, 1848, included those of Camillo Cavour, Michelangelo Castelli, Pietro Derossi di Santarosa, Carlo Boncompagni, Ercole Ricotti, Lorenzo Valerio, Riccardo Sineo, Angelo Brofferio, Giacomo Durando, Predari, Montezemolo, Galvagno and Cornero. Whilst the majority of those present only spoke of expressing their solidarity with the Genoese commission, the editor of the *Risorgimento* openly declared that henceforth something more must be asked for and that was—the constitution.

This bold proposal which demonstrated its author's profound knowledge of the serious condition of existing affairs, emanated from a man of thirty-eight years of age, belonging to the ancient aristocracy of Piedmont, who, in his youth, had been a sub-lieutenant in the corps of engineers and, after his resignation of that post, had travelled in France and England and was now devoted to journalistic pursuits—no other, in fact, than Count Camillo Benso Di Cavour. Among his hearers were men who, either through instinct, education or by their position in journalism, were of pronounced liberal tendencies, but they looked at one another in amazement at hearing this proposition. A few indeed offered objections, and the assembly was prorogued till the following evening.

Meantime, an important event had happened: the King had refused to receive the Genoese deputation. But none the less, the journalists who had approved of

Cavour's idea, adhered to their resolution and, at the second meeting, signed a memorial to this intent, which the Marquis Roberto D'Azeglio, an elder brother of Massimo and an equally conspicuous champion of liberalism, undertook to present to the King in person. Charles Albert read the document and pondered its candid yet loyal tenor, but replied that, for the liberation of Italy, soldiers, not lawyers, were needful and that, in the interests of Italian independence which he now had most nearly at heart, he would never grant a constitution.

But at this juncture came the news of the revolt at Palermo on the 12th of January, then that of the King of Naples' promised constitution. Whereupon, great demonstrations were held at Turin, and on the 5th of February, the municipality itself, instigated by Pietro Derossi Di Santarosa, the tried friend of Cavour, deliberated on asking the King for a constitution. Meanwhile, Charles Albert, after having confessed and communicated, unburdened his mind to Monsignor D'Angennes, Archbishop of Vercelli. This ecclesiastic who was a very holy man, overcame the religious scruples of the monarch, and on the 8th of February, 1848, Charles Albert promised the Statute and fixed its main lines. From the 8th of February till the 4th of March, the day on which the Statute was promulgated, there was little else in Piedmont but a continual succession of fervent demonstrations in the King's favour. And richly did Charles Albert merit his people's affection, because, unlike the other princes who promised with mental reservations, he, having once conquered his wavering tendency and set his

foot upon the path of constitutionalism, pursued it thenceforward with the utmost loyalty to the end.

* * *

It was a strange game of battledore and shuttlecock to which public opinion in Italy abandoned itself in the first months of 1848. The news from Naples and Piedmont called forth imposing demonstrations in Tuscany, and the Florentine municipality, at that time presided over by Bettino Ricasoli, immediately decreed a laudatory address to Charles Albert. All the most eminent Tuscan liberals now insisted on the Grand Duke granting a constitution, and this, on the 11th of February, Leopold II. promised to do.

Henceforth, Rome, who had given the first impetus to this movement, found herself quickly outstripped by the other states. Pius IX. was very far from being the ideal pontiff that the Italians had imagined. He had simply wished to better the condition of his subjects and had never dreamed of becoming the herald of a revolution, and now that he saw the progress affairs were making, he would have gladly turned back, but he was irresistibly drawn on by the very stream he had himself set free. The people who had become aware of their ruler's vacillation, affected to cast the blame on his *entourage* and the Jesuits, and now cried, "Long live Pius IX. only!" On the 1st of January, 1848, a great crowd assembled at the Quirinal where the Pope then resided, in order to give him a new year's greeting, but finding the gates barricaded and the palace surrounded by guards,

they were not slow to vent their ill-humour. On the morrow, Pius IX. appeared in the city once more, for the purpose of appeasing this mistrust, and met with a most enthusiastic reception.

The 12th of February saw the formation of the first lay-ministry in the Papal States. Nor did this suffice; in these provinces also the idea of a constitution had taken root, and the communal council of Bologna went so far as to demand the concession openly. To fix the limitations between ecclesiastical and secular affairs was certainly a matter of difficulty, but all considerations, debates and delays thereon were suddenly cut short by the news of the outbreak of the Paris revolution which had at one blow, despoiled Louis Philippe of his throne. So it was that on the 14th of March, 1848, Pius IX. granted a constitution to his subjects.

Thus all Italy, except the territory ruled by Austria, now found herself on the way to freedom.

X

THE WAR OF 1848

THE inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian States intended keeping the new year with demonstrations of their own ; on the 1st of January, 1848, all citizens were invited to abstain from smoking and thus to damage the interests of the Austrian government which possessed a tobacco monopoly. The warm response which this invitation met with at Milan provoked the unbounded wrath of the Austrian police ; on the 2nd of January, their disguised agents paraded the streets with lighted cigars, blowing mouthfuls of smoke in the faces of the passers-by and otherwise annoying them. Such proceedings were naturally resented by the Milanese and led to disputes and arrests. But the affair assumed a far more serious aspect on the morrow, when brandy and cigars were liberally distributed to the soldiers who were then despatched through the public thoroughfares, with orders to enforce smoking among the citizens by threats and, if necessary, by use of arms. The evening of the 3rd of January was a terrible one in Milan : quarrels had been fomented in every quarter

of the city by drunken soldiers and, as if this were not enough, mounted troops continually galloped to and fro, trampling on the fallen and prodding with lances all those who did not take to flight—slaughtering in this way no less than fifty-nine persons.

Whilst all Italy stood aghast at the news of such a massacre, the Austrian government boldly pursued its way and initiated similar scenes of bloodshed at Pavia and Padua, refused to nominate the commissions demanded by the Lombard and Venetian Congregations and, at Venice, effected the arrest of Daniele Manin and Niccolò Tommaseo, thus adding fresh fuel to the flame of popular indignation. To increase the ferment, came sundry startling pieces of news—first that of the Sicilian revolt, then that of the constitution granted by Ferdinand II. and the Statute of Charles Albert. Hereupon Austria, proceeding to extremities, proclaimed a state of siege in the Lombardo-Venetian States and set up sanguinary tribunals, by which the authorities could condemn without appeal and inflict the death-penalty on their own responsibility. The citizens, on their part, prepared for revolution by collecting money and arms and by establishing closer connections with Charles Albert and the Piedmontese liberals. It can indeed be said that in Lombardy and Venetia, governors and governed stood confronting each other, as enemies awaiting the signal for the fray.

The French revolution precipitated matters; its vibrations awoke faith in the irresistible force of the barricade, and struck a responsive chord in all Italian hearts which were electrified by the brilliant victory

gained in Paris. But the decisive blow which hurried on the revolt came whence it was least expected. Vienna itself, that rock of absolutism, had not been able to escape the revolutionary throes which were convulsing all Europe; on the 13th of March, the Viennese populace rose and demanded the constitution, and Prince Metternich was obliged to take flight.

By the 17th of March, the news of this revolution had reached Venice where it produced a remarkable outburst of enthusiasm: the people repaired *en masse* to the piazza of St. Mark, loudly clamouring for the liberation of the political prisoners, especially of Manin and Tommaseo, then, without waiting for the authorities' answer, rushed to the prisons and triumphantly released the two patriots. On the morrow feeling had risen still higher, tricoloured banners were raised amid the loud ringing of tocsins, and the struggle was actually about to break out between the soldiers and the crowd when the municipality, to prevent bloodshed, begged permission from the government representatives to organise a civic guard. To this request, Palffy, the civil governor, and Zichy, the military commandant, consented. Meantime, it was made known that the Emperor had granted a constitution in Vienna, the announcement of which Palffy himself read to the crowd from the balcony of his palace, declaring, at the same time, his satisfaction at being the first constitutional governor of Venice. Thereupon the tumult was appeased and the city resumed its wonted aspect; it seemed indeed as if all fear of disturbance was at an end.

Affairs were taking a very different turn in Milan. On hearing of the Viennese revolution, a nucleus of patriots had, on the afternoon of the 18th of March, combined to form a municipal deputation which, followed by a great crowd, proceeded to the governor's palace to beg for urgent reforms. The Viceroy, Rainer, had fled, but O'Donnell, the vice-president, signed, in the presence of the enraged mob, the desired decrees, by which the civic guard was to be formed and the municipality commissioned with providing for the public safety. However, whilst this deputation was returning to the municipal palace, a volley from a troop of soldiers killed one of the crowd, and the sight of blood was the signal for the outbreak of the already hatched revolt which now spread throughout the length and breadth of the city. Barricades were everywhere erected—to the number, it is said, of five hundred and twenty-three—tables, chairs, vehicles, even the very paving-stones of the streets, were utilised for the defence; all had recourse to arms, and one idea only possessed Milan—and that was the expulsion of the Austrians.

It is impossible to describe that feverish contest, maintained simultaneously in every quarter of the city during those ever-memorable days; it may truly be said that every street had its own heroic episode, as every house had its own hero. Youths, old men and children, all did their share; women encouraged the combatants and succoured the wounded; the clergy, too, took their part in the struggle. With the rattle of the musketry and the thunder of the artillery mingled the incessant tolling of the bells which, for

five days and five nights in succession, clanged threateningly over the heads of the enemy, as if voicing the popular fury.

On the 20th of March, Radetzky, the Austrian general in command, proposed an armistice which was refused; on the 21st, his troops were expelled from all their posts within the city, but the fortress and walls were still in their hands; on the 22nd, it was decided to break through the enemy's cordon in order to establish communication with the country districts and the other revolted cities. To this end, the combatants engaged at Porta Tosa—now called Porta Vittoria. The fighting was prolonged and desperate, but when the young Luciano Manara set fire to the gate, Milan had won her freedom. From the highest spire of the cathedral floated the Italian tricolour, and it was now that the great poet, Alessandro Manzoni, flushed with the enthusiasm of the hour, added this final strophe to his ode, *Marzo, 1821* :—

“ O giornate del nostro riscatto !
 O dolente per sempre colui,
 Che da lunge, dal labbro d'altrui,
 Come un uomo straniero le udrà !
 Che ai suoi figli narrandole un giorno
 Dovrà dir sospirando ; ‘ io non c'era, ’
 Che la santa, l'invitta bandiera
 Salutata in quel dì non avrà.”

(O day of Italia's glory !
 Unhappy for aye is the brother
 Who e'en from the lips of another,
 As an alien, lists to that tale ;
 Who, telling his sons the glad story,
 Shall say, with a sigh, “ not for me,
 Alas ! 'mongst that cohort to be,
 Who saw the blest standard prevail.”)

Who can express the joy that was experienced on that memorable day by the citizens of Milan at expelling from their midst an army of fourteen thousand well-armed and thoroughly-disciplined men? And theirs was a glorious and untarnished triumph, for whilst the Austrians had been guilty of much barbarity, their foes, on the contrary, had behaved with the utmost generosity—a fact that one episode alone will prove. On the 20th of March, when the struggle was raging most fiercely, Count Bolza, head of the police, was hiding in an attic. Well must he have recalled how, many years before, he had arrested Count Confalonieri under almost identical circumstances: at any rate, the people who hated this contemptible satellite of Austria, were not slow to remember the fact and forthwith arrested him. The unhappy man believed his hour had come, but Carlo Cattaneo, a distinguished Milanese, being consulted by the crowd as to their victim's fate, answered: "If you kill him, you will do a just act; if you spare him, you will do a holy one"—a recommendation to mercy which prevailed with the mob.

Meantime, the revolution did not stop at Milan, but quickly spread throughout Lombardy, so that the Austrian troops, threatened on all sides, had to abandon their positions and fall back on the Mincio.

At Venice, after two days of tranquillity, it was suspected that the governor had been profuse in fair speeches to gain time to prepare for the city's bombardment—a suspicion which was further inflamed by the news of the insurrection at Milan. Now

began a new *émeute* in which the commandant of the arsenal, Marinovich, unpopular with the workmen on account of his severity, was killed. Daniele Manin, followed by a numerous crowd, repaired to the arsenal, and by moral force alone effected its surrender to Admiral Martini. At the same time, the municipality, grasping the seriousness of the situation, sent a deputation to treat with the two Austrian governors. The civil governor, Palffy, handed over his authority to the military commandant, Zichy; the latter, intimidated by the resolute utterances of the advocate, Avesani, consented to evacuate the city, invest the municipality with his own powers and relinquish his claim to all munitions of war. So on the 22nd of March, 1848, the fall of Austrian dominion and the Venetian Republic were proclaimed together on St. Mark's piazza, whilst the presidency of the provisional government was entrusted to Daniele Manin.

Nearly the same thing happened in the other Venetian towns. The military commanders of Treviso and Udine capitulated as Zichy had done; those of the fortresses of Osoppo and Palmanova did likewise, and in the last-named place, the veteran General Zucchi, now set at liberty, was entrusted with the command. Other cities, like Padua, abandoned by their garrisons who went to join Radetzky's troops in the Quadrilateral, found themselves free, and only one Venetian city—Verona—remained under Austrian rule; the rest gave in their adhesion to the provisional government of Venice.

The Italian territory between the Mincio and the

Adige, with the fortifications of Mantua, Peschiera, Verona and Legnago, was now all that remained to the Austrians who, hemmed in by the insurrection, had no other way open but to retreat to the narrow valley of the Adige where they found themselves confronted by the Piedmontese army.

* * *

Hardly was it known at Turin that Milan had revolted against the oppressor, than the Piedmontese were consumed by a fever of patriotism; people abandoned their dwellings, to live in the streets and market-places; schools, offices and business-houses were deserted, whilst a crowd assembled in front of the royal and ministerial palaces, demanding arms and clamouring for war. The bolder spirits equipped themselves for action and set off in the direction of the Ticino; on the 22nd of March, a large band of university students, organised into companies of *bersaglieri*, left for the frontier amid the acclamations of the crowd. On the afternoon of the 23rd, came, like a thunderbolt, the news that Milan was free, that the discomfited Austrians had retreated in the direction of the Quadrilateral, and that a Milanese messenger had reached Charles Albert to implore him to allow Piedmontese troops to enter Lombard territory.

The papers instantly began publishing suggestive supplements on the situation. In the *Risorgimento* appeared a forcible article by Camillo Cavour, which commenced in these terms: "The decisive hour for the monarchy has arrived—the hour of momentous decisions, on which hang an empire's fate and a

people's destiny. In the face of what has happened in Lombardy and at Vienna, doubt, hesitation and delay are no longer possible for they would mean the most fatal policy. We men of phlegmatic temperament, who are accustomed to listen to the dictates of reason rather than to those of sentiment, have duly considered our determination and are in duty bound to declare it: only one way is open for the nation, the government and the King, and that is war—war, immediately and without delay.”

The mob surrounded the royal palace in expectation of hearing the decision of the council of ministers which, it was well known, was engaged in deliberation. Hours passed and the crowd, instead of diminishing, became more and more dense. It was midnight when there appeared, on the famous balcony of the royal armoury, in a halo of light shed from the illuminated saloon beyond, the tall figure of Charles Albert. Over the tremulous and silent concourse of people he waved a scarf; it was the Italian tricolour! The enthusiasm of that moment can never be described: then it was that the dynasty of Savoy and the Piedmontese were indissolubly knit together by a solemn vow—that of mutual consecration to the liberation of Italy.

On the morrow, the following proclamation was published, which had been drawn up the preceding evening in the name of the King, by Federico Sclopis, minister of Grace and Justice: “People of Lombardy and Venetia! The destinies of Italy are ripe; happier omens favour the intrepid defenders of trampled rights. For the sake of our race, our knowledge of

the times in which we live, and our community of interests, we would first of all associate ourselves in that unanimous tribute of admiration which Italy awards you. Our arms which were already concentrated on your frontier, when you anticipated the glorious liberation of Milan, are now in readiness to afford you that aid which brother expects from brother and friend from friend. Let us act in accordance with your praiseworthy desire, relying on the help of that God who is plainly with us—that God who has given to Italians a Pius IX. and has so truly inspired Italy to work out her own redemption. And the better to show by outward acts how deeply we share the sentiment of Italian unity, we command that when our troops enter Lombard and Venetian territory, they bear the Italian tricolour with the escutcheon of Savoy.

“‘CHARLES ALBERT.’”

A few days later the Piedmontese army crossed the Ticino and triumphantly traversed Lombardy in the direction of the Mincio.

Meanwhile, a loud cry wherein freedom, joy, and battle were mingled, resounded throughout the peninsula. Modena and Reggio, Parma and Piacenza immediately all threw off the yoke of their princelings and despatched troops to the help of their brethren in Lombardy and Venetia. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Pope, carried away by the tide of popular feeling, found themselves obliged to send recruits to the holy war now about to be waged. Even the King of Naples was compelled to promise a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, whilst Sicily,

although struggling to maintain her own independence against the Bourbons and unable to distract her fighting-men from their main purpose, contributed some hundred volunteers for the national cause. All the youth of Italy flocked to the Lombard camp, chanting the inspiring hymn of the young Genoese poet, Goffredo Mameli :

“Fratelli d’Italia,
L’Italia s’è desta,
Dell’ elmo di Scipio
S’è cinta la testa :
Dov’è la vittoria?
Le porga la chioma,
Chè schiava di Roma
Iddio la creò.
Stringiamci a coorte,
Siam pronti alla morte,
L’Italia chiamò.
Noi siamo da secoli
Calpesti, derisi,
Perchè non siam popoli,
Perchè siam divisi :
Raccolgaci un’ unica
Bandiera, una speme ;
Di fonderci insieme
Già l’ora suonò. . . .”

(O brothers, your Italy
Wakes from her sleep,
The helmet of Rome
On her brows doth she keep •
Doth victory tarry?
She comes at our call,
For aye of us Romans
God made her the thrall.
Let each valiant band
To die ready stand,
For Italia all !

We are held in derision,
 We face the world's scorn,
 Because by division
 Our peoples are torn :
 Let us trust in one hope,
 In one flag, so our power
 Shall thus front the hour
 That now shall befall.)

During thirty centuries of Italian history, this was the first time that the whole peninsula had risen by a common impulse against a common foe: nothing like it had ever happened in ancient Rome, and the glorious episode of the communes had only belonged to one part of the country. But this wonderful agreement—this miracle so long desired by so many great Italians—had only been possible because the inviolable liberty of the Statute had secured to each citizen the right and the duty of making his voice heard in public affairs. The whole nation, evolved from the vicissitudes of so many centuries, now rose at last, conscious of her strength, and from Etna to the Alps, the tricoloured standard was hoisted to the oft and proudly-repeated cry of "*L'Italia farà da sè*" ("Italy will provide for herself").

Indeed the European situation was such that little help could be reckoned on from the other Powers, of whom two only showed themselves favourable—England and France. But the enthusiasm of English liberals had waxed somewhat faint since the Paris revolution of February, because they feared that this French movement might spread throughout Europe: however, England was disposed to favour the separation of Sicily from Naples, as she hoped thereby to

gain commercial advantages from the new kingdom whose gratitude would be duly assured. As to the French Republic, it was not willing to aid in the foundation of a great kingdom in North Italy, as such intervention would tend to make France distrusted by the Italian monarchical governments, especially that of Charles Albert. Italy thus had to work out her own unity, but to carry out her noble purpose, a complete, sincere and lasting accord between her princes and peoples was necessary. As a matter of fact, all her rulers were not in agreement with their subjects, much less among themselves. With the exception of the King of Sardinia, none of the other princes were inclined for war: Pius IX. wavered between patriotism and the general interests of Catholicism; the Grand Duke of Tuscany, an Austrian, viewed with suspicion Charles Albert's ambitious policy, and most of all was the King of Naples ill-disposed to fight, as he now showed by suddenly delaying the departure of his battalions. When the trial by fire came, that which was strong and true bore the test, whilst that which was spurious and worthless was separated as dross from the gold.



Once more the destinies of Italy had to be decided in that famous Quadrilateral—marked by the four fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua on the Mincio, and Verona and Legnago on the Adige—which may be considered as the classic Italian battlefield. At the beginning of April, the Piedmontese troops began to come in sight of the enemy on the banks of

the Mincio, and in the first skirmishes, succeeded in mastering the position on the river by occupying the bridges between Mantua and Peschiera.

The Piedmontese army was inspired by that strongly warlike spirit which had been, for centuries, the traditional inheritance of Piedmont; it was disciplined and devoted to the King as well as to the cause for which it fought, and had excellent subalterns, moreover, who served to familiarise the common soldiers with their superiors. The Piedmontese officers were distinguished by bravery and gallantry, but unfortunately had somewhat neglected the art of war, and were too apt to think that everything depended on personal courage—a false military principle which was cherished by nearly all the officers during the war and shared even by the King himself.

Charles Albert, following the traditions of his house, assumed the chief command, but by reason of his temperament, was ill-adapted to lead an army: that constant vacillation which had so often caused his political conduct to be doubted and distrusted, now made him irresolute and hampered in action, at a crisis when prompt and energetic measures were supremely necessary. General Carlo Di Salasco, a good and cultivated man, but lacking enterprise and capacity for leadership, was chosen as head of the staff. The best general possessed by the Piedmontese army was Eusebio Bava, the commandant of the first army corps, and an educated and clear-headed soldier, but he failed to imbue the King with his own sentiments. Unfortunately, Charles Albert, with few plans of his own, was

always borrowing projects and proposals from those who surrounded him, and thus, adopting ideas from first one and then another, only succeeded in making a futile amalgamation of the same. Neither was his cool and impassive courage contagious enough to inspire the soldiers to dash headlong into the fray, in spite of the fact that he himself was ever ready to stand in the forefront of the battle where he would silently remain, impervious to the bullets that hailed around him, displaying a *sangfroid* that evoked warm and general admiration.

By the second half of April, sixty thousand Piedmontese, six thousand Tuscans and three thousand Modenese and Parmese were at Charles Albert's disposal on the banks of the Mincio, as well as seventeen thousand pontifical troops—who, under General Giovanni Durando, had arrived on the banks of the lower Po—and four or five thousand Lombard volunteers who were trying to enter Tyrol from the side of the Lake of Garda: there were, in fact, about ninety thousand men in all, without reckoning the bands of Venetian insurgents and the Neapolitan army yet on the march.

Radetzky, however, in consequence of losses incurred through skirmishes, capitulations and desertions, had seen the number of his army reduced to fifty thousand men, whilst owing to the spread of the insurrection, his communication with Austria was now limited to the valley of the Adige. This disheartened and demoralised army, surrounded on all sides by the enemy, seemed on the eve of annihilation. Contrary to all expectation, however, it

hed, because, besides being well disciplined, owing to previous annual manœuvres, obtained a thorough knowledge of the ground to be fought, and possessed an excellent commander in Marshal Radetzky who, in spite of his eighty-two years, displayed phenomenal strength of both mind and body.

Charles Albert, unwilling to deviate from the established rule of strategics, began to invest Peschiera, the nearest of the four Quadrilateral fortresses, with his Mincio army, and in order to intercept communication between this stronghold and Verona, tried to force some of the enemy's positions between the Mincio and the Adige; in fact, on the 20th of April, he advanced as far as Pastrengo, to the north of Verona. Pleased with the successful result of this *coup*, he determined to attack Verona itself, all the more readily because it was reported that the inhabitants were ripe for revolt. On the 6th of May, he fought his way as far as the village of Santa Lucia, but the expectation of a rising was not realised, and the Piedmontese, after performing many feats of heroism, had to retire. For some time, they devoted themselves to besieging Peschiera, but marches and countermarches and the monotony, anxiety and fatigue consequent on a siege, had now somewhat damped their ardour.

In the meantime, Radetzky, shut up in his redoubtable Quadrilateral, could quietly await the arrival of reinforcements headed by General Nugent, from the Isonzo. At the end of April, Nugent crossed this river, and leaving on one side Palmanova, defended

by General Zucchi, made for Udine, and by whose marches, arrived at the Piave without encountering any serious resistance. The pontifical troops, under Durando, were sent against the Austrians, but his engagement at Cornuda on the 8th of May did not impede the advance of Nugent who, by a rapid movement, tried to surprise Vicenza—without success, however, for Durando came to the help of the inhabitants. At all events, Nugent attained his end, for between Vicenza and Verona he joined his forces to those of Radetzky. The latter, taking into account the important strategic position of Vicenza, insisted on Nugent's army making another attempt to recover it, so, on the 23rd of May, it was subjected to a second attack which lasted a good part of the night: however, thanks to the precautions taken by Durando and the courage displayed by the soldiers and citizens, the Austrians were compelled to desist in their attempt and retreat to the Adige.



In the meantime, important events were happening in other parts of Italy, especially in the Papal States. Strangely enough from Rome itself, whence the first shock had come to awaken the national conscience, came the first recoil. Pius IX. whose yielding disposition was averse to all difficult and dangerous enterprises, soon found himself seriously hampered in the way he had himself opened out. His adoption of the constitutional system had given rise to an actual struggle between himself and his ministers;

